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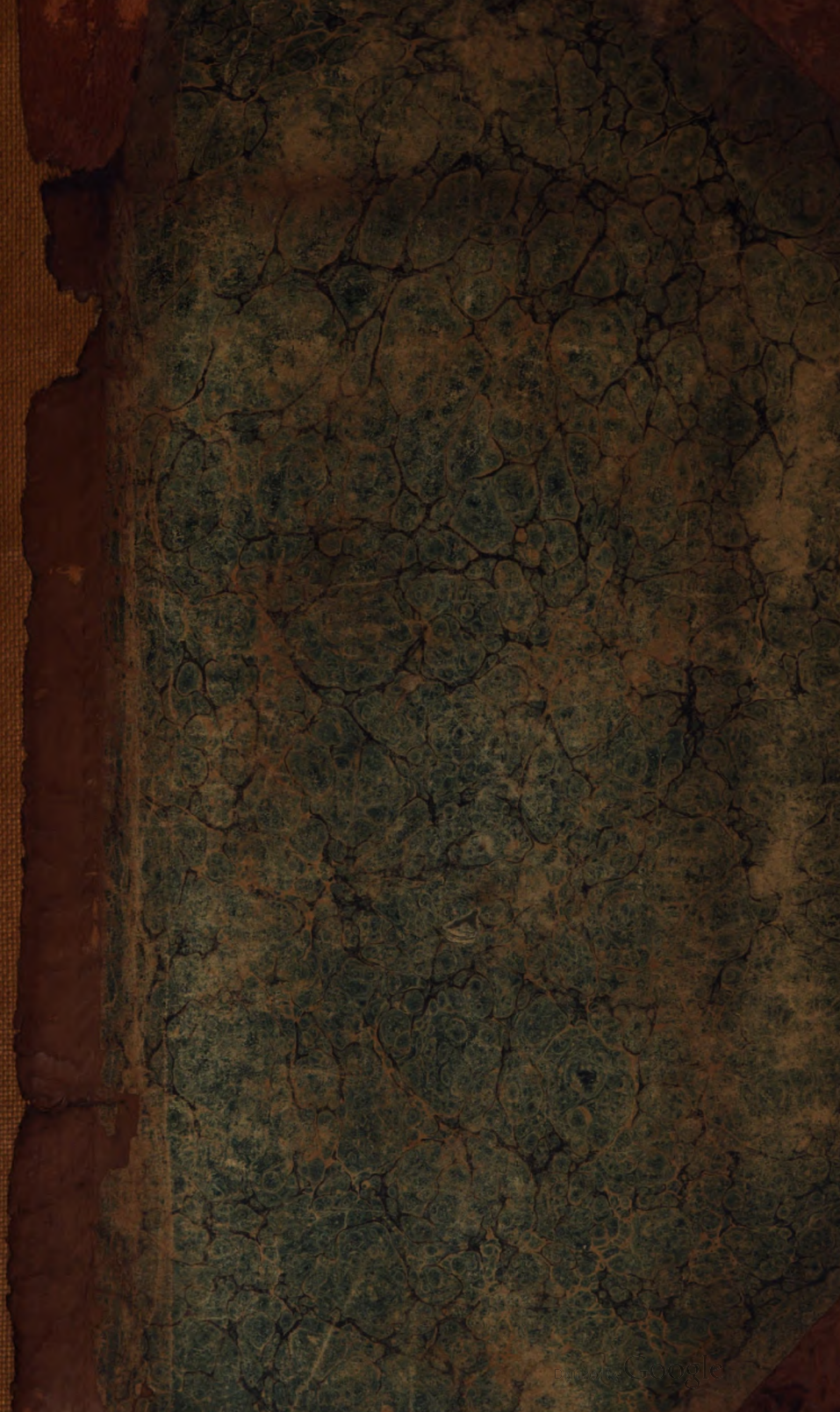
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AN  
ACCOUNT  
OF THE  
**UNITED STATES**  
OF  
**AMERICA,**

DERIVED FROM ACTUAL OBSERVATION, DURING A RESIDENCE  
OF FOUR YEARS IN THAT REPUBLIC:

INCLUDING  
ORIGINAL COMMUNICATIONS.

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**BY ISAAC HOLMES.**

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## PREFACE.

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### TO THE PUBLIC,

**DURING** my residence in the United States, I met with many emigrants, who, having left Europe under false impressions, were much dissatisfied with the country. Some among them, who had been accustomed to manage English farms, had proceeded to the back settlements, not calculating upon the trouble, labour, and privations they would have to endure for a number of years. Many of these, after working for a few months, on finding their health and spirits decline, had sunk under the toil. Some had been seduced by deceptive representations, to purchase land which they had never viewed, and upon arriving where it was situated, they found it not worth cultivating; while others had purchased land they never could discover.

Many labourers and mechanics, hearing of the high wages given in the United States, conceived, that as soon as they set foot on the soil, they could procure work at almost any rate they thought proper to demand; but arriving in some of the large cities, where there are too many competitors for the work to be performed, they loitered away their time, and, until their money was nearly expended, they did not think of removing to such places as were likely to furnish them with employment. Several also, who, although they did not experience any particular difficulty having entered the country with false ideas relative to its climate, inhabitants, advantages, &c., which opinions they

## PREFACE.

had imbibed from reading false and exaggerated statements; were likewise greatly disappointed and dissatisfied.

Having noticed so much discontent, upon my return to Great Britain, I resolved to issue a small pamphlet, giving advice to those who determined to emigrate to the United States. I accordingly wrote the chapter entitled, "Advice to Emigrants," but, conceiving afterwards, that it would be proper to give some information relative to the state of Agriculture, I composed the chapter on that subject. Thus writing one chapter after another, the work assumed a magnitude, which would have filled two octavo volumes: but by the advice of the publisher it was compressed; and in its present form I beg leave, with all due deference, to submit it to the public.

That there are many imperfections in the style and language of the work, I have no doubt; for having been actively occupied for twenty years in commercial pursuits, I have not had leisure to cultivate those literary acquirements which are requisite for an author. In this work I have endeavoured to give a faithful account of the United States: and I have delivered my sentiments openly and fearlessly, neither courting the approbation, nor shrinking from the frown, of any one.

In the chapter above referred to, entitled "Advice to Emigrants," I have discouraged emigration; but had I been so well acquainted as at present, with the great distresses of the British agriculturist, I certainly must have allowed, that the American cultivator, was in an enviable situation, when compared with many English farmers. What is the situation at present of the farmer in the best agricultural counties of England? I am credibly informed that several, some of whom have expended four, five, and even

## PREFACE.

ten thousand pounds in stock, &c. upon their farms, are unable to pay the landlord half his rent. Taxes, tithes, and poor-rates, must first be satisfied. Let us compare with these, the situation of a farmer with a family, possessed of five thousand pounds in the United States. This is a sum, at the present rate of exchange, of twenty-five thousand dollars. With that amount, two thousand acres of land may be purchased, four or five hundred acres of which would be cleared, besides having a good house, barns, and a farm well stocked. But the family upon a farm in the United States must all labour; the father, mother, sons, and daughters, must all work; for it is probable that no domestic servants could be procured. Let a family, however, emigrate with a determination to labour, and be willing to endure some privations, and in a few years, growing happy and contented, they will find it sweet to eat the bread of independence, procured by honest industry. To ensure this happiness, let them talk and think as little as possible about Great Britain; yet even then it will be a long time before the remembrance of their country will be dispelled—before the American farms will possess the same comforts and conveniences as those in England—or, before the people there can be viewed in the same light, by Englishmen, as their former associates. Early friendships and impressions take deep root in the mind; they are fixed in the very view and feeling of the soul, and they cause all new countries for a long time to appear disagreeable. But every year effaces a little of the impression; new connections by marriages are formed, which in the United States sometimes take place very early, and this serves to attach an emigrant family to the country of their adoption.

There is yet one more substantial advantage which the American farmer possesses, and that is, in the future prospect of his family. In Great Britain, at present, the farmer



## PREFACE.

whose property consists in stock, looks forward with but little hope: on viewing that period when he must leave this world, there is a gloom which hangs around the future situation of his family, that is disagreeable. He is fearful that they may be reduced to poverty, as many others have been. Whereas, in the United States, if he possessed one or two thousand acres of land; there is sufficient for his children, and their children after them.

The United States is a country upon which the public attention is riveted. Princes and grandees may view it with a trenchant feeling. For thousands of years they have been considered as necessary to a well-organized government as a head to a human body. In this new empire they have tried without them; and the fundamental basis of their constitution is, that they shall never exist in the country: and it would be treason for any one to attempt to introduce the rule of a monarch. The agriculturist regards it also as a section of the globe, (though but a few years since it was a forest or wilderness) in which husbandry is so far advanced, that a population of nearly ten millions of inhabitants is supported; and the only distress which the farmers experience is, that they have not sufficient markets for their superabundant produce. The merchant may well view it as of importance, for in every sea their vessels are floating, and in every harbour the "star-spangled banner" is displayed, unless they are particularly excluded by law.

The working mechanic and labourer look at it as a country, in which such descriptions of persons receive nearly three times as much for their services as they could obtain in Europe; and in which the common labourer possesses civil and political rights, equal to the richest man in the country.

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Several centuries elapsed after the foundation of the Roman Empire, before it became of importance; but here, in less than half a century, within the recollection of many who are now living, an empire has arisen, prodigious in extent of territory, and great in importance, for its political influence is felt in the remotest recesses of every European court; and as yet, it only appears as the foundation of what will hereafter become one of the greatest political superstructures that was ever raised.

That I should not have perfectly described this country, is not a matter of much wonder; the pen has already been in more able hands than mine; and yet they have failed in the description: if, however, the work conduces to the advantage of any emigrants, my purpose is attained, and I remain satisfied: as such, I offer the first, and probably the only work, which I shall ever obtrude on the public attention.

THE AUTHOR.

*Liverpool, Jan. 1, 1823.*

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## INTRODUCTION.

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THE discovery of America was one of the greatest events that ever occurred in the history of our globe. It spread before the eyes of Europe an extent of territory, nearly equal in dimensions to the continent of the Old World, peopled by tribes, communities, nations, and kingdoms, of which the inhabitants of the eastern hemisphere had never formed the most distant conception. Among these extensive regions, the vast territories which now constitute the United States, hold a conspicuous rank, exhibiting, in all the majesty of virgin independence, an astonishing spectacle; commanding the approbation of the politician, the homage of the legislator, the sanction of the moralist, and the veneration of the philosopher.

Little more than three hundred years have elapsed, since Columbus first navigated the Atlantic, and beheld these shores, which subsequent adventurers, animated by his spirit, and pursuing his track, have found stretching into latitudes, where no vessel had previously sailed. During this short period, the United States, nursed in their infancy by their European parent, have acquired an Herculean vigour, which now extends a dominion over nearly four thousand miles of coast on the eastern side; from the northern states

to the Gulf of Mexico, besides an extensive range on the shores of the Pacific ocean. The area of this vast republic comprises *two million five hundred thousand square miles*; compared with which, Great Britain, with all its wealth, extensive commerce, and naval and military glory, dwindles into a mere point, since, if taken in connection with Ireland, it occupies no more than one-twenty-fifth part of that space.

When America was first discovered, that portion now denominated the United States, was peopled by a few hundred thousand savages, who, having no fixed habitation, roamed at large, and were nearly as wild and ferocious as the beasts which traversed the forests, prowling for prey; equally unaccustomed to restraint, and, except among themselves, alike without molestation. Already the population exceeds ten millions; and were the inhabitants as numerous in proportion to its extent as they are in Great Britain, the United States would contain an aggregate of *five hundred millions of human beings*.

As a power, this portion of the western continent is yet in its infancy; and what that high and important destiny is, which the Creator of the universe intends this empire to attain, can only be the subject of conjecture. Reasoning from analogy, it will become a giant among the nations of the earth. When the present and several succeeding generations shall have passed away into the ocean of eternity, perhaps those who

people the earth may behold its hundreds of millions of inhabitants, rallying round one common centre, wielding a power that is invincible, and, with arts and sciences flourishing under its auspices, shining like the star of the ascendant. Should the union between the States remain indissoluble, no doubt can be entertained that this will consolidate a power, far transcending all that Assyria, Persia, Macedon, or Rome, could ever boast—greater than was ever witnessed since the creation of the world.

Scarcely has half a century elapsed, since this vast country pertained to Britain, to which the inhabitants were strongly attached by a sameness of language, a reciprocity of feeling, by ties of consanguinity, and by congenial sentiments of loyalty to the same monarch. But through an unhappy dispute, arising from one of those causes, on which the destinies of nations and empires depend, submission gave place to resistance, resistance to opposition, opposition to victory, and victory led to independence. Thus the United States, through the violence of the political tempest, broke from her moorings, to navigate the ocean of time on her own account, never again to return into the harbour of Britain.

In 1776, when these colonies resisted the power of England, they consisted of only thirteen confederated communities; but at present there are twenty-four, which constitute the grand repub-



lic, besides the district of Columbia, the Floridas, and a vast extent of country not yet settled.

These states are Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, Vermont, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, Ohio, Illinois, Indiana, Kentucky, Tennessee, Missouri, South Carolina, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, and Alabama. These I shall divide into Eastern, (or North Eastern,) Middle, Western, and Southern.

I shall term Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Vermont, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, the *Eastern States*;—Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina, the *Middle States*;—Ohio, Illinois, Indiana, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Missouri, the *Western States*;—and South Carolina, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, and Alabama, the *Southern States*. I have made this division, in order that, in the prosecution of this work, when I am treating of the Commerce, Agriculture, &c. of the country, the reader may be able to refer to the different sections of the Union, of which I am writing.

THE  
**UNITED STATES**  
OF  
**AMERICA.**

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**CHAP. I.**

**HISTORICAL OBSERVATIONS.**

THE extensive continent now called AMERICA, was discovered by Columbus in the year 1492; but the history and adventures of this distinguished character have been so long before the public, that the circumstances connected with his intrepidity can at present excite but little interest.

The successes of this celebrated navigator awakening throughout Europe a spirit of adventure, many individuals started from obscurity, to try their fortunes in those seas, which he had so advantageously explored. Among these, Vespucci Amerigo, generally known as Americus Vesputius, a Florentine of noble birth, embarked for the new world; and on his return, published an account of lands on the continent, which he professed to have discovered. To these unexplored tracts, he gave on his maps, the title of "Amerigo's Land,"

and his work being written in a popular style, the whole continent assumed his name. Thus was Columbus robbed of an honour which his genius had so justly earned, nor has it been in the power of posterity to do him justice. In many parts of the United States, the appellation "Columbia," is not unknown; but the name America, throughout the whole civilized world, is almost uniformly annexed to this important portion of the globe.

In the year 1493, Pope Alexander, who had arrogated to himself the title of "God's Vicerent on earth," in the plenitude of his ambitious generosity, gave the whole of this vast continent, and its adjacent islands, to Spain. But although his voice at this time operated nearly as a mandate from heaven, to which, on ordinary occasions, the princes of Europe yielded an implicit submission, his authority was acknowledged with much reluctance, on an affair that militated against their several interests. His right to grant such a large donation was viewed in a questionable light; and few among them were disposed to acquiesce in these decisions of infallibility.

As a mark of his disapprobation, Henry VII. of England, granted to John Cabot and his sons, a commission to navigate different parts of the ocean, for the purpose of making discoveries. By this commission, Sebastian Cabot took possession of a great part of the North American Continent, in the name and on the behalf of the King of England.

A patent was also granted by Queen Elizabeth to Sir Humphrey Gilbert, in 1578, but no effectual steps to colonize this continent resulted from this grant. Soon after, in 1584, she licensed Sir Walter Raleigh "to search for heathen lands, not inhabited by Christian people," and granted to him in fee, "all the soil, within 200 leagues of the places where his people should make their dwellings or abidings." It is strange that the profession of a doctrine, the Founder of which declared his "kingdom was not of this world, should be thought a warranty, or a reason sufficiently powerful, to dispossess the peaceful occupiers of a country, which was their property. Under the auspices of Sir Walter Raleigh, an inconsiderable colony took possession of a place on the coast of North Carolina; and, in honour of Queen Elizabeth, the name Virginia was given to the whole of that part of the American Continent, which afterwards formed the thirteen colonies. What became of these few first settlers was never known.

In the year 1607, the first permanent settlement was made, by some emigrants taking possession of a peninsula, on the north side of James's River; they erected a town, and, in honour of King James, who then reigned, they gave it the name of James-Town. But these were doomed to encounter innumerable hardships, and disease made such havoc among them, that one-half was consigned to the tomb in a short period.

In 1609, a license was given to transport to Virginia all persons desirous of going thither; the consequence was, that other settlers joined those who had established themselves at James-Town; and it was declared, that they would be entitled to all the rights of subjects, the same as if they had remained within the realm. Within 20 years after the foundation of James-Town, upwards of 9000 settlers had, at different periods, emigrated thither; but disease, famine, and war with the native Indians, had only left 1800 of that number. Through these, and similar disasters, notwithstanding the multitudes that arrived from England, and the natural increase by propagation, the whole of Virginia, in 1670, did not contain more than 40,000 white inhabitants.

The year 1620 was remarkable for the arrival of the Puritans. This was caused by the ridiculous and wicked enactments in England against nonconformists, which were passed in 1593. One of these acts was, that "all persons who refused to go to the established church, or were present at any conventicle or meeting, should be punished with imprisonment, until the convicted agreed to conform, and made a declaration of conformity;" and if this was not done within three months after conviction, he or she was to quit the realm, and be perpetually banished: and provided they did not depart within the time limited, or returned afterwards without license, they were to suffer death; and under this reck-

less, savage, or bloody act, many did actually suffer.

In 1606, a congregation of nonconformists, or, as they were termed, Puritans, had fled to Holland, where they continued ten years. Afterwards, they left Holland, and applied to King James for full liberty and freedom to worship God in England, according to the dictates of their conscience; but the bigoted or besotted king rejected their request. Thus repulsed, they embarked for America, hoping that, at a distance of 3000 miles, and the Atlantic intervening, they should be out of the reach of ecclesiastical courts. They accordingly sailed, 101 in number, from Plymouth; and, in November, 1620, arrived at Cape Cod. Before landing, they formed themselves into a body politic, subject to the Crown of England, for the purpose of "forming just and equal laws, ordinances, acts, constitutions, and offices."

These Puritans, on their arrival, fixed on a place, which they called New Plymouth; having previously purchased the soil from its native proprietors. Thus they and their future associates laid the foundation of New England.

During the first winter after their landing, they sustained incredible hardships. Their dwellings were hasty, and but poor erections; and the cold of that part of America is frequently intense. Such, therefore, were their sufferings, by famine and disease, that nearly half their numbers were



consigned to the grave, within the short space of six months after their landing. But what will not men actuated by religious zeal encounter? They considered that they were suffering in the great cause of truth and religion, and that if death should close their mortal career, heaven would be opened, where they would be gloriously recompensed for their fidelity and afflictions.

These Puritans were plain, frugal, and industrious persons, strict observers of morality and religious duties. They considered the Bible to be the proper rule of both faith and practice. Episcopacy, the church hierarchy, and the pomp of bishops, they thought were discordant to the pure, simple, equal, and lowly spirit of Christianity, which orders, that "he who would be the chiefest, should be the servant of all." They were strict and rigid Calvinists; and, as the Calvinistic doctrine generates a sort of harsh unsocial feeling, by contracting the mercy of God, it appears to make its professors of a narrow and contracted mind. To this day, the stern Calvinistic features of the first Puritan settlers remain with many of the inhabitants of New England.

It is a curious circumstance, but perhaps what may be expected from human nature, that as soon as these people found they possessed power, they became persecutors; and in 1631, only 11 years after their first landing, they passed a resolution, that no man should be admitted to their body politic, but such as were members of some of their

churches; that none but such, should share in the administration of their civil government, or have a voice in any election. Thus these persons, who had felt the iron hand of oppressive power—who had condemned all acts to prevent nonconformity, as irreligious and improper—wanted to make conformists to their narrow and bigoted tenets. In consequence of these oppressive acts and resolutions, other States were formed; namely, Rhode Island, New Hampshire, &c.; and this part of North America then took the name of New England. The population of this country was rapid, as the Puritans, harassed in England, fled in great numbers; and it is an established fact, that, in the space of twenty years from the first settlement, about 21,000 had arrived, in 298 vessels.

In the year 1633, Maryland, the third English colony in North America, was settled, and made a province of the British empire. Shortly afterwards there were 200 persons, chiefly of the Roman Catholic religion, who emigrated thither, landing at the Potowmac. Calvert, their leader, purchased the soil from the Indians; and, with their consent, took possession of a town or village, which he called St. Mary's. The adjacent land was easily cultivated, and they lived in harmony with the natives. Hearing of their success, the Roman Catholics, unhappy in their native land, (Great Britain and Ireland,) went in great numbers to Maryland, where they might celebrate the

rites of their religion, without test or other acts. Lord Baltimore, to whom the province of Maryland had been granted, laid the foundation of its future greatness and prosperity on the basis of freedom in religion, and security to property.

With respect to religion, the North American colonies exhibited a very curious anomaly in the year 1637. In Massachusetts, the Puritans, who had fled from persecution, had become persecutors, not tolerating other sects. In Virginia, the Church of England were harassing all who dissented from them. In Maryland, the Roman Catholics were tolerating all! These measures caused an increase to the wealth and population of the latter colony.

Emigration to North America nearly ceased about the year 1640, in consequence of more tolerant measures, relative to religion, being pursued in Great Britain. Soon after the Restoration, Charles the II. in 1662, granted a charter to Connecticut, which left the judicial, executive, and legislative power, in the freemen of the corporation, or their delegates; and it was not imperative to communicate their acts to the sovereign.

In 1663, a charter was granted to Rhode Island and Providence Plantation, equally free and liberal as the one to Connecticut. In the same year, a patent was granted to Lord Clarendon and others, relative to, and comprehending, the territory now comprising the States of North and South Carolina and Georgia; North and South

Carolina not being made separate provinces until the year 1728, nor Georgia until four years afterwards, in 1732.

In the year 1664, Charles the II. granted a patent to his brother, the Duke of York, which included the present States of New York and New Jersey. These provinces had previously been partially settled by some Dutch colonists, and held as territorial possessions of the United Netherlands; but the King of England claimed it by right of prior discovery, and the Dutch settlers were easily induced to acknowledge his authority.

In the year 1681, King Charles gave to William Penn a patent for Pennsylvania. Mr. Penn, sometime afterwards, obtained a grant of the land on the western side of the river Delaware, which was formed into a distinct province, and is now the State of Delaware. Penn purchased the right of soil of both Pennsylvania and Delaware from the Indian residents.

In most of the charters and patents, granted to the colonists, it was expressly stipulated, that they and their descendants were to have and enjoy the same rights, privileges, or immunities, as subjects born within the realm; but the one granted to William Penn had not this clause.

In the year 1732, when Georgia was separated from South Carolina, the British possessions then formed thirteen distinct provinces or colonies, appendages to the British empire. Thus, in less than

130 years from the first permanent settlement, a sea-coast of nearly 2000 miles was occupied; and in the interior, westward, there were partial settlements to the Alleghany Mountains.

In the year 1749, a grant of six hundred thousand acres of land, in the neighbourhood and bordering upon the river Ohio, was made to certain persons in London and Virginia. These persons associated themselves under the title of the Ohio Company. France, then being in possession of Canada to the north, and Louisiana to the south, was determined to preserve a free communication between their settlements, which the new grant was calculated to interrupt. The new settlers under the grant, and certain French, soon came into collision; and at length Great Britain and France, from this and other causes, were involved in war in the year 1754. These disputes were finally settled by the treaty of Paris, in 1763, by which Great Britain obtained the Floridas, and all the country lying east of the Mississippi; with a full right to navigate the river.

In the year 1774, the population of the thirteen colonies had increased to three millions; and their commerce, previously to the revolution, was equal to one-third of that of Great Britain. Here, we may certainly say, that the possession of the North American colonies was "the richest jewel in the British crown."

Louisiana, comprehending the whole extent of territory as it was purchased by the American

Government from France, was discovered by the French; who, having been previously settled in Canada, crossed the lakes, and, following different rivers, were led into the Mississippi. At different periods, they formed trifling settlements upon the banks of the river; but it was not until the year 1718, that the first house or hut was erected at New Orleans: the territorial government had previously been fixed at Mobile, a very inconsiderable place. The French Government soon discovered the importance of the site of New Orleans, and the city rapidly increased. In 1762, France ceded the territory of Louisiana to Spain; but when that kingdom became little better than a province of the mighty empire of France, under Napoleon, she was ordered to restore its dominion: this was in 1801.

Napoleon, on April the 30th, 1803, for the trifling sum of fifteen millions of dollars, sold or ceded this vast territory to the United States. The sum indeed was trifling, when we compare the magnitude and importance of the territory thus acquired. There is a surface of about *one million four hundred thousand square miles of land*. The sovereign or political power, thus ceded, was accompanied with all the unappropriated land; which, one time or other, will produce to the United States Government more than ten times the sum paid for the cession. This act of Thomas Jefferson, who was the President when the purchase of Louisiana was made, entitles him to



the thanks and warmest encomiums of his countrymen.

Florida, which is said to have been discovered by Sebastian Cabot eighteen years before it was known to the Spaniards, received its name from John Ponce, who, sailing from Porto Rica, landed in April, 1513, when the country appeared in full bloom and verdure. Since the above year, it has frequently changed its masters. In 1564, some part of it was seized by the French, but in the following year they were driven from their settlements by the Spaniards. In the year 1763, Florida was ceded to Great Britain, in exchange for the Havannah; and while it remained in their possession, it was divided into East and West; but during the American war it was reduced by the Spaniards, and, by the definitive treaty of 1783, guarantied to the crown of Spain. Since the above period, it has been transferred to the United States, and it is now incorporated in the general Union.

In most places near the sea-coast, the soil of this territory is sandy and barren; but on advancing inland, a considerable improvement becomes visible; and such is the fertility of some districts, that the inhabitants have two or three crops of maize in the same year. On receding from the shore, the land swells into hills, which are clothed with various trees, among which may be found the white and red oak, crab oak, mulberry, magnolia, pine, hickory, cypress, red and white

cedar. Orange and lemon trees grow here without cultivation, and produce better fruit than can be obtained either in Spain or Portugal. Vines also flourish luxuriantly, bearing grapes equal both in size and flavour to the best muscadine. Cotton, flax, and hemp, also grow in abundance; and among the richer productions of the country, we find indigo and cochineal. The rivers, which are infested with alligators, abound with fish, and oysters and amber are procured on the coasts. In the western parts, herds of cattle, and flocks of sheep and swine, are numerous; but the forests still harbour wild beasts of various species. During summer, the weather is exceedingly hot, but in the winter the rivers are occasionally covered with ice, and sometimes the orange trees perish through the cold.

Through these changes, Louisiana and Florida have now become integral parts of the United States, and thus has the empire acquired consolidation. A new world rose to the view of Europe when America was discovered by Columbus; and a phenomenon equally astonishing, was presented to mankind, when the United States renounced Great Britain, and asserted their independence. Ever since that period, the republic has been gaining strength, importance, and extension. The Alleghany are now no longer a boundary; but beyond the Rocky Mountains, on the shores of the Pacific, the citizens have established themselves.

It is not half a century since the American eagle stretched forth its pinions; its flight during this short space of time has been rapid, strong, and vigorous, and under the covert of its wings, the oppressed of all nations have found happiness, wealth, peace, and security.

## CHAPTER II.

## SKETCH OF INDIAN TRIBES AND MANNERS.

WHEN that part of America now called the United States was first settled by Europeans, they found numerous tribes of Indians; yet the aggregate of population was trifling, when compared with that vast extent of country over which they wandered. Their natural dispositions inclining them to rove, the cultivation of the earth was only of secondary consideration; and the articles which chiefly engrossed their attention, were maize, or Indian corn, and a few vegetables. Of these pursuits, the labour chiefly devolved on the females, the men thinking such employments beneath their attention. Those who resided near the sea obtained a considerable part of their sustenance from that element; but those who lived remote from the waters, depended for their support on the success of their hunting expeditions. To the chase, all the tribes were immoderately attached; and as deer and other game abounded throughout the country, on this they placed their principal reliance, unconscious of the hardships which they endured to procure a precarious subsistence, and untaught by the calamities which

they suffered from privations, inseparable from this vagrant mode of life.

Although fish and wild animals were abundant, yet these were frequently found by them to be but uncertain sources of supply; and whenever they failed, not having a stock of domestic animals, and but little corn, famine and its attendant diseases were sure to make dreadful havoc; and when they had been successful in the chase or in fishing, their gluttony was so excessive, that it proved injurious to their health.

Before the Indians were discovered by the Europeans, they had been continually engaged in war with each other; and from the ferocious manner in which their hostilities were conducted, the vanquished party were often nearly exterminated. An Indian would seldom ask for quarter; and if he did, it would have been still more rare for quarter to be granted. To obtain a scalp, as a trophy of his sagacity or prowess, was the chief ambition of an Indian leader; and the having imbrued his hands in blood, constituted the utmost height of military glory. Hence, from their subsistence being so precarious, and from the ferocity with which their wars were conducted, the scantiness of their population may well cease to excite our wonder. The situation likewise of the females was so degraded, as to prevent them from much increasing the numbers of the inhabitants. Such indeed was their miserable condition, that, according to Robertson, servitude

is a name too mild to describe it. Jefferson, in his *Notes on Virginia*, (p. 101,) says, that mothers sometimes in a wild emotion of maternal tenderness, would destroy their female infants, to deliver them from that intolerable bondage, to which they knew they were inevitably doomed. The Indian female likewise practised means to prevent fecundity; and it is said they had the knowledge of a certain plant, which not only procured abortion, but prevented conception for a considerable time after.

But although this was the state of the aboriginal natives, when the first European settlements were made in 1607, it is certain the discovery and settlement of America by Europeans has not been beneficial to them. In the south, it led to the overthrow of two empires, that were nearly as much civilized as their cruel invaders. In the north, spirituous liquors and the small-pox were introduced: to the first they became passionately addicted, and numbers have fallen victims to its baneful effects. The small-pox has also made dreadful ravages amongst them, as they sustained its violence without possessing the means of mitigating its rage..

When the first settlers arrived in America, they in general purchased a trifling quantity of land; afterwards, large purchases were made; the price given for immense tracts was often spirituous liquors, or a few baubles: but of some of their lands they were dispossessed by force.

Finding that their white neighbours, either by force or fraud, were obtaining the possessions of their forefathers,—and from other causes also,—a spirit of hatred and malice was engendered: revenge was sought for, and in gratifying their vengeance, in some instances the Indians committed the most shocking barbarities. The white colonists retaliated; the fire-arms and weapons which they employed were sure to be efficacious, and thus whole tribes were exterminated, or driven very far from the white settlements.

The destruction of a tribe called the Natchaz, who dwelt on the banks of the Mississippi, about 300 miles above New Orleans, will perfectly elucidate what I have advanced. Dupratz states, that at Natchaz there was a tribe of Indians who went by that name. When the French first settled near them, much intercourse prevailed. This tribe, according to Robertson, (book iv. p. 142,) was the farthest advanced in civilization of any of the North American Indians. The intercourse between the French settlers and the Natchaz was conducted for several years with perfect harmony. At length, in 1729, a French commander fixed upon one of their villages as a desirable place of residence, and determined to dispossess them of it: he sent to the chief of the village, and told him, that he, together with all the inhabitants, must depart immediately. With great difficulty the chief obtained permission to remain until the conclusion of the harvest, promising the French

commander a part of the corn. The commander was forewarned to be on his guard; but he, resting on a fatal security, despised the advice. The period arrived when the Indians were to deliver a part of their corn, agreeably to their promise. They took the corn, concealing their tomahawks, and, in one day, slaughtered the whole of the French at the settlement. The French, in retaliation, extirpated the whole tribe, consisting of about 2500.

The Natchaz, prior to this catastrophe, were a powerful tribe. Some of the families were reputed noble, and enjoyed hereditary dignities, and in their eyes the body of the people was considered as vile, and formed only for subjection. This distinction was marked by appellatives, which denoted the high elevation of the one state, and the ignominious depression of the other. The former were called *Suns*, and were respectable; the others were denominated *Stinkards*. The great chief, in whom the superiority was vested, was reputed to be a being of superior nature, the brother of the sun, the sole object of their worship. They approached him with religious veneration, and considered him as the representative of their deity. His will was a law, to which all submitted with implicit obedience, esteeming his command as that of a God. It was even considered an honour to die at his command. At his death, his principal officers, his favourite wives, together with many domestics, were slain at his



tomb, that he might be attended in the next world by those who served him in this. Such was the reverence in which he was held, that those victims welcomed death with exultation, deeming it a recompense of their fidelity, and a mark of distinction, to be selected to accompany their deceased master.—*Charlevoix History of New France.*

In the wars between the French and the English, the Indians in and on the borders of the colonies were generally engaged on one side or the other; for as war was their delight, when each party were offering them presents, it is no wonder they were easily won; nor, from their natural dispositions, was it to be expected they would be satisfied to be mere spectators, when the opponents were combating so near their dwellings. In the war of 1756, the Six Nations fought against the French; but the French engaged the Indians on the Penobscot and the Hudson to war against the British colonists. This war caused the destruction of several tribes.

Of some other tribes, the extinction was caused by the following circumstance, in 1712. The Coree and Tuscorara tribes of Indians determined to murder the white settlers in North Carolina. The change of the full moon was fixed upon for this horrid carnage. The Indians first surrounded their principal town with a breast-work, to secure their families. The warriors assembled, to the number of about twelve hundred. They left their town in small parties, and took different roads.

They entered the white settlement as friends. When night came, they entered the houses of the settlers, asking for provisions; and pretending to be offended, they murdered men, women, and children. They spared none they could lay hold of. Such was their secrecy and dispatch in this work of slaughter, that none knew what had befallen his neighbour, until the savages entered his own door: 137 settlers, amongst whom was a Swiss nobleman, and several Germans, who had but recently landed, were some of the victims. A few escaped, and gave the alarm; the militia immediately assembled, keeping watch day and night, until the news could be communicated to South Carolina. The Governor of the latter province immediately dispatched a body of 600 militia, under the command of Colonel Barnewell; and also 366 friendly Indians joined, to pursue the Tuscoraras. They marched with great expedition through the wilderness. In the first rencounter they killed 300, and took 100 prisoners. After this defeat, the Tuscoraras retreated to their fortified town. They were obliged soon to surrender it. In this expedition the tribe lost 1000, in killed, wounded, or taken. The rest left the country, and joined the five nations, with whom they have continued.

The revolutionary war between Great Britain and the Colonists, was the most direful in its effects to the Indians. The British had cultivated their friendship by presents; the colonists having

frequently come into collision with them, a degree of acrimony was engendered ; and the Indians had not only an opportunity of indulging themselves in their favourite pursuit, war, but they were also gratifying their raging thirst of vengeance, which burnt with fury in their savage breasts against the colonists. But they soon felt the fatal effects of provoking retaliation. In one Indian town belonging to the Mohawks, it appears that they had far advanced in civilization. To the surprise of the colonists, who were employed in the work of slaughter, they found the lands about the Indian town well cultivated, and the houses both large and commodious. The quantity of corn destroyed was immense. They had orchards, in which were several hundred fruit-trees, and which appeared to have been planted for a long series of years. Their gardens were enriched with a profusion of vegetables. The ears of corn, or maize, were so remarkably large, that many measured 22 inches in length: all was destroyed! In many other parts, likewise, the destruction was equally great. Near South Carolina, a most unfortunate affair took place. "A number of Indians, of the Moravian persuasion, who took no part in the war, but whose opinion was, that 'the Great Spirit did not make men to destroy men, but to love and assist each other,' were, unfortunately, all massacred,"—the Americans said, in a mistake! Through these, and similar causes, such have been the consequences, since the settlement of that

part of North America, composing the United States, that few of the aboriginal natives now remain. Perhaps in the whole of that vast country, not more than one hundred and fifty thousand at this moment exist.

Their wars with each other, the wars of the British and the French, the revolutionary war of the Colonists, female incontinence, spirituous liquors, the small-pox, and other causes, have tended to effect this great reduction of their numbers. By these evils, whole tribes, that were once both numerous and formidable, are no longer to be found; and in vain might we search for a single descendant of those warriors, whose names are mentioned both by the British and the French in terms of the highest praise. Among those that remain, the numbers are daily diminishing, so that in a few generations, the tales of tradition, and a few memorials, will comprise the whole of Indian existence.

It is said, that the prejudice of most of the Indians against agricultural pursuits is so deeply rooted, that nothing will cause them to give up their uncertain mode of procuring a subsistence by the chase, or hunting. If this be the case, though we may regret their calamities, we need not deplore their disappearance from the earth. They would have remained savage, and unfit to live near the abodes of civilized man; and "it is but proper they should give way to a more industrious order of the human race;" for one-

fiftieth part of the land will produce nourishment for a family employed in agriculture, that would be required to support a family which exists by hunting. But the truth of the assertion, that they cannot be civilized, remains yet to be proved.

From the circumstance of the Mohawks (the destruction of whose town is mentioned in this chapter) being so far advanced in civilization, and from the effects which the Moravian and other Missionaries have produced, we may very reasonably conclude, that had proper means been employed, the Indians might have been civilized, and many of them, ere this, amalgamated with the white inhabitants.

The Indians are of a copper colour, with strong black hair; their height, or stature, similar to that of Europeans. Some of them are strong and athletic. The Osages are so tall and robust, as almost to deserve the appellation of gigantic: few of them appear to be under six feet, and many are above it. The Osages dwell on the banks of the Missouri river. The Indians, both male and female, pluck out all hairs, excepting those on the head. Both male and female are passionately fond of ornaments; they put feathers in the hair, ornaments in the ears, and some even bore through the cartilage of the nose, that they may ornament it. Many of them paint their faces. Their dress in general consists of a piece of cloth tied round the middle, with a sort of small blan-

ket thrown over them in cold weather. Some obtain a shirt, which they ornament with blue cloth. In general they live dispersed in small villages, either in the woods, or on the banks of rivers. They are a people quick of apprehension. Those who possess fire-arms acquire a certainty in the aim almost surpassing any white. Even with throwing the tomahawk, they are certain to kill at a considerable distance.

Their huts or houses are rude erections, being built of small logs, and covered with bark. They gather moss, &c. with which they make their beds. With respect to religion, they speak of a Great Spirit, but their notions are extremely confused; and it must be stated that they have no proper idea of worship, and indeed no religion. They believe in a future state, but they consider that those who have been the most successful in war will be the happiest hereafter. The man has little passion or affection for the female; and he compels her to do all sorts of work of drudgery. He values not the chastity of the female; he will consign his wife or daughter for the gratification of any one, for merely a few baubles. If a stranger should go to his hut or wigwam, and if he invite him to pass the night there, his wife, sister, or daughter, would be offered as a bedfellow. For the female, the Indian appears to have no value, esteem, or consideration. I have seen a stout man carrying only a gun, whilst his wife, or squaw, had a child on her back, with one hand leading

another, and the other arm loaded with maize or game.

Their dances would be considered by Europeans as very violent exercise; but they appear to be greatly delighted by it. Their music is intolerable. Although polygamy is allowed, yet it is not common. Their feelings, in some respects, are as acute as those of an European; of this, the following circumstance came to my own knowledge. An old man quarrelled with his son; the son had beaten him: the old man sought for revenge; but to revenge himself by destroying his own offspring, this untutored savage would not do. He therefore blew out his own brains. Although we may condemn the act, yet we must admire the feeling; it was the same feeling which nerved the arm of Lucretia, when she plunged the dagger in her breast, after existence became loathsome. Suicide must be deprecated. There is no situation or circumstance which ought to cause any one to cut the thread of existence, and appear unbidden before the eternal Fountain of life. The Christian religion condemns it; but him, on whom the light of Christianity has never dawned, we must leave to the mercy of God.

It is customary with the Indians to destroy nearly all their prisoners of war; and the courage or fortitude of some (indeed of most) of them, when they are suffering under the excruciating tortures to which they are doomed, is surprising. Whilst they are enduring sufferings beyond credi-

bility, "they will deride their merciless tormentors, and boast of the numbers of their enemies whom they have slain."

It sometimes, however, occurs, that the party who may have made prisoners, have lost some of their warriors in battle. In that case, either the wife or the family to whom such an one belonged, may adopt any of the prisoners. The prisoner so adopted, is considered as one of the tribe, and he no longer conceives himself as belonging to the tribe amongst whom he was born. He will fight for his adopted tribe, and even against his own.

During the last war with the Creek Indians and the United States, there was an Indian of that tribe, who was the chief warrior, and was termed the Prophet Francis. An American was taken prisoner by this chief, who sentenced him to death. The lifted tomahawk was raised, which would have sent the soul of the American on its flight to eternity; but the daughter of the Prophet Francis (about sixteen) cast herself between the victim and the immolater. She besought the life of the prisoner; but the father peremptorily refused it. Determined to save the prisoner or perish, she declared she would die along with him. The father was not insensible to paternal feeling. His blood flowed through the veins of his child; the voice of nature, and the tie of consanguinity, worked within him. To save his child, he spared the prisoner.

A short time after this circumstance, in conse-



quence of the Americans following the Indians into the neutral territory of Florida, the Prophet Francis was taken prisoner. Jackson was the commander of the American forces. Did this commander shew to the Indian chief how much superior was a civilized general to a savage? Did he convince him that the Americans always treated their prisoners with humanity? No, No, without consulting any but his own savage heart, (in which surely there moves a leech thirsting for blood,) he ordered the Indian chief to instant execution.

In war, whilst the Indians are prosperous, they are exceedingly elated; they will then willingly endure incredible hardships,—but upon a reverse of fortune they are as much depressed. They do not grieve much for the death of their comrades. The loss of a horse or a dog furnishes a motive equally as powerful to excite their lamentation, as that of a friend.

A young widow, says Bradbury, whose husband had been dead about eight days, was hastening to finish her grief, in order that she might be married to a young warrior: she was determined, therefore, to grieve much in a short time; for this purpose, she tore her hair, drank spirits, and beat her breast, to make the tears flow abundantly, by which means, on the evening of the eighth day, she was ready again to marry, having grieved sufficiently.

With respect to laws, every town or village,

according to Jefferson, has a chief. Those affairs which merely regard a village or family, are settled by the chief or principal man of the place. Those which regard a tribe, or involve disputes between different towns,—to decide upon war, or to conclude a peace,—are determined upon at a meeting of all the chiefs and principal warriors from the several villages.

Various attempts have been made to convert them to Christianity; but the missionaries have frequently been received with jealousy. On one occasion, a missionary went to some of the tribes bordering on the Delaware. The chiefs met, and patiently heard all which the missionary had to say; after some consultation, they addressed him, thanking their white brothers for their attention in sending him to them. At the same time, they said “they feared the whites had some design to enslave them,” for they thought, “if the whites had been so well instructed by the Great Spirit, and if they were so very considerate of their red brethren, they ought to shew some kindness to the blacks, and free them from slavery.” The missionary accordingly was dismissed.

The Moravians in many instances have succeeded in converting and civilizing them. Instead of commencing with the Christian doctrines and mysteries; telling persons to believe in the Trinity, who can scarcely count three; they first teach them the easiest mode of procuring subsistence and clothing; they afterwards teach them some of the

great moral duties, which will render them more happy ; and by degrees, when they have prepared the mind for its reception, they display the resplendent lights of Christianity, which will continue to blaze until all the earth is filled with its glorious brightness.

Some of the Indians have endeavoured to live with the whites ; but in most instances they have soon become dissatisfied, and returned to their brethren. There was an instance of one who went to reside in Maine : he continued there for some time, cultivating his little spot, and was very industrious ; he had with him an only child, about ten years of age : his child died ; he had alone to dig a grave ; alone he had to inter his child ; no one came to mingle his tears with the poor Indian. At length, with a heart bursting with grief, he said, " When white man's child die, Indian be sorry, he help bury him ; when my child die, no one speak to me ; I make his grave alone : I can no live here." With that, he dug up the body of his child, carried it with him 200 miles, and joined some Indians in Canada.

Although the Indians treat their prisoners of war with savage ferocity, yet they remember the least kindness ; an instance of this occurred during the French war of 1754. A Mr. Schoonhoven and seven others (Siliman observes) were taken prisoners by the Indians. They were conducted to a spot, which is now in the centre of the town, called Sandy Hill, in the state of New York ; they

were ordered to sit down in a row on a log: the Indians then began very deliberately to tomahawk their victims, commencing at one end of the log, and splitting the skulls of their prisoners in succession; whilst the survivors were compelled to sit still and witness the awful fate of their companions, awaiting their own in unutterable horror. Mr. Schoonhaven was the last but one upon the end of the log opposite to where the massacre commenced; the work of death had already proceeded to him, and the lifted tomahawk was ready to descend, when the chief gave the signal to stop the butchering. Then approaching Mr. S. he mildly said, "Do you not remember at such a time, (mentioning the period,) when your young men were dancing, poor Indians came, and wanted to dance too. Your young men said, "No, Indians shall not dance with us; but you" (for it seems the chief recollected the circumstance) "said, Indians shall dance: now I will shew you that Indians can remember kindness." This circumstance spared the life of two.

In many instances the American citizens have acted with unmerited severity towards the Indians. It is well known, that many bad characters who have fled from justice, are residing in the back settlements; they are thus near the Indians; and as they have without any remorse preyed upon their white neighbours, we may suppose they would gladly rob the Indians. This on several occasions has been the case; and when the Indians

retaliate, their atrocities are blazoned forth in the public papers, and an excuse is thus formed for hostilities ;—their habitations are consumed by fire, multitudes fall by the sword, and the survivors are dispossessed of their lands.

A gentleman with whom the writer conversed, and who had been an agent for the United States government to one of the tribes on the Mississippi, stated, that he had resided with the Indians nearly ten years. He described them as being very friendly, and of an open and generous disposition. Some of them in the Southern States have large herds of cattle; others have purchased black slaves; and many have acquired moderate fortunes.

Of these, the three tribes who dwell in the state of Mississippi, named the Chickasaws, the Cherokees, and the Chocktaws, are the most noted. The Chickasaws are a tribe of about 6000 individuals. They have several millions of acres of excellent land, between the 34th and 36th degrees of north latitude, on the Tennessee and Mississippi rivers; they likewise have some other reservations. This tribe has always been friendly with the United States government. Some of their chiefs possess many negro slaves. They have numerous herds of cattle, many horses, and a great quantity of hogs. There is one family, of the name of Colbert, one of whom is proprietor of a ferry across the Tennessee river, which produces more than 2000 dollars per annum.

The Cherokees number near 15,000. They possess an extensive tract eastward of the Chickasaws, on the river Tennessee. They attend to agriculture, and to the production of cotton for their clothing. They have several hundred looms. They have large stocks of cattle, sheep, hogs, horses, &c. They have all the necessaries of life in abundance, and many of them can read and write.

The Choctaws are a numerous and powerful tribe. They possess a large tract of land between the Yazoo and Tombigbee rivers. They reside on the Chickasaka, Yazoo, Pascagoula, and Pearl rivers. They have great stocks of cattle, horses, &c. They also attend to agriculture. They are computed at about 13,000. Many of the men belonging to these three tribes, viz. the Chickasaws, Cherokees, and Choctaws, dress in a manner similar to the whites. Most of the females are clothed as white females; and several of them are married to white men. In the course of a short period, these three tribes will be mixed with the white inhabitants, and I have no doubt will be admitted as citizens of the republic of the United States: whenever that occurs, they must be considered extinct as Indians. Many of them are now perfectly white. They are far advanced in civilization; and, with most of the good qualities of those who term themselves civilized, they are free from many of their vices. Lying, knavery, and duplicity are not much practised. They are

open, free, and generous, and their bravery or courage cannot be questioned; and with respect to the beauty of their persons, they are not surpassed by any human beings.

The benefit of civilization to any of the Indians, is a pleasing theme to contemplate. When the dreary waste is overcome by the genius of agriculture, and the smiling field waves luxuriantly,—when an odorous fragrance is borne by the zephyr, instead of the noxious blast which was formerly sent forth,—every one must rejoice. But what is this, when compared with the civilization of a savage man? His mind is worse than the dreary desert—worse than chaos;—with faculties boundless as eternity—allied to his God—he is on a level with the brute: but when his intellects are expanded, he rises from the brute; he becomes a man, in whom is the breath of life; even immortal life is open to his view, and he has a faint prospect of his Creator and his God.

There is yet one tribe amongst the Indians, who are almost as great miscreants as any beings who dwell on the earth, bearing the human shape; these are the Sioux tribe. Bradbury mentions, in his publication of 1817, that mothers amongst them will, even now, frequently destroy their female infants, rather than let them live to endure the shocking hardships which would be heaped upon them by these savages. In the statistical account read before congress by Lewis, speaking of the Sioux, he says, “These are the vilest miscreants

of the savage race, and must ever remain the pirates of the Missouri, until such measures are pursued by our government, as will make them feel a dependence on its will for their supply of merchandise."

In many cases it has unfortunately occurred, that the propinquity of the Indians to the white population has been extremely injurious to their morals, and has caused a great diminution in their numbers; this has particularly been the case in the North Eastern States; but in the Southern ones, in the instances of the three tribes, the Chickasaws, Choctaws, and Cherokees, it has been different.

Many elaborate treatises have been written relative to the origin of the Indians. These have always commenced in conjecture; and this ample field is still left open to all, without furnishing that decisive evidence which every one would rejoice to receive. They have no monuments, no writings, nor has their language any affinity to that of the inhabitants of any other part of the world. The race is fast disappearing from the face of the earth; and in a period less than a century, it is probable there will be no trace of their existence, excepting in the pages of the historian, or the journal of the traveller.



## CHAP. III.

## REVOLUTION AND INDEPENDENCE OF THE UNITED STATES.

AMONG the numerous events which have taken place in the political world since the decline and fall of the Roman empire, that of the Revolution in the British colonies of North America is the greatest. Although at the time of its occurrence it appeared as the mere dismemberment of a foreign settlement from the parent country, yet, from the republican principles upon which the inhabitants established their empire, this revolution has produced an effect upon all the governments of Europe. Though vegetating more conspicuously beyond the Atlantic, the seed, from whence the luxuriant foliage sprang, appeared as an embryo which had been planted in the minds of men in distant countries. In the short space of thirteen years, this seed produced in France the tree of liberty; but, unhappily, growing in a soil where faction was predominant, all its promised fruit withered while in the bud, and its supporters perished under the guillotine, or axe of the public executioner. Hence the tree fell before it had attained maturity; and on beholding its honours.

laid in the dust, freedom shrieked at the deeds of horror which were perpetrated in her name.

To enter into an elaborate detail of the various causes which produced this important revolution, or to give an account of all the military and other operations which occurred during the accomplishment of this great event, would be foreign to the object of this work. I shall content myself with a short sketch of the principal occurrences which conduced to the revolt; and which finally enabled the colonists to establish their independence, and assume a rank amongst the nations of the earth.

Actuated by an illiberal and short-sighted policy, the legislative functionaries of Great Britain beheld in the United States a growing power, which they meanly endeavoured to suppress. The colonists were not ignorant of their intentions; and hence, every act that operated to the disadvantage of their internal prosperity and commercial transactions generated suspicions, and, as a natural consequence, awakened their indignant feelings.

Among the numerous acts of parliament passed about this time, materially affecting the interests of the colonists, there was one, which, after the 24th of June 1750, made it illegal for any one to erect in the colonies any mill or other engine for slitting or rolling of iron; or any forge to work with a tilt hammer; or any furnace for making steel. By another act, hatters were not allowed to employ negroes, or to have more than two apprentices at the same time, or to take any for less

than seven years. The colonists were also prohibited from transporting hats, and home manufactured woollen goods, even from one province to another.

But although these seeds of jealousy were thus disseminated, it was not until the year 1764 that the foundation was laid of those troubles, which for a season desolated the colonies, and deluged them with blood;—which caused the prowling savage to be called from his den by a government denominated civilized, and, as a human beast, let loose with his tomahawk and his scalping knife against a people in whose veins flowed British blood. With this ruthless monster, neither sex nor age was spared; like the wolf or hyena, his pleasure was carnage; and the deeds of this disastrous period will always be recollected with horror. This memorable year was the commencement of an epoch which was to cost Great Britain millions of treasure, and thousands of human lives; when fathers were to be employed to open the sluices of life in their own offspring; and when sons would cut short the days of their fathers. It was in this same year, 1764, that the first act was passed for the avowed purpose of raising a revenue in the colonies, by authority of the British parliament, in which the colonists had not even the semblance of a representation. The preamble to this act ran as follows: “Whereas it is just and necessary that a revenue be raised in America, for defraying the expenses of defending, protecting, and securing the

same; we, the Lords spiritual, &c. &c. do give and grant to your Majesty," &c. This act was considered by the colonists as a direct infringement of their natural, chartered, and constitutional rights, since, during 150 years, they had been left to tax themselves. There might indeed have been some inconsiderable exceptions to the contrary, but in general this was the case: the consequence was, they flourished; and the mother country reaped the advantage.

The act of 1764 was followed by another in March 1765, which, if possible, was still more obnoxious than the preceding. This was the famous stamp act, which went through the houses of parliament without opposition; and which received the royal assent on the 22d of the same month. By this act, all writings or deeds, bills, bonds, &c. were to be considered in law as null and void, unless they were executed on stamped paper or parchment. This act, however, was not to take effect until the 1st of November following.

The state of Virginia was the first to oppose the right of the British parliament to tax the colonists without their consent; and to manifest that opposition, Mr. Patrick Henry moved certain resolutions in the house of burgesses at Virginia, declaring that it was illegal, unconstitutional, and unjust, to tax them without their concurrence. Among other evidences of disapprobation, it was resolved, "That whoever should, by speaking or writ-

ing, assert or maintain, that any person or persons, other than the general assembly of the colony, had any right or power to impose or lay any tax on the people, he, or they, shall be deemed an enemy to this his Majesty's colony of Virginia." Upon this resolution being read, some cried, "Treason! treason!" but still it was adopted. New England also took up the subject in a still more determined manner. The colonists there, seized the stamped paper, and in some instances burnt it. They likewise burnt or destroyed the houses of those who were appointed to collect the duties, and of some for merely expressing a favourable opinion of the measure. Thus a simultaneous feeling ran throughout the States, and, as opportunities occurred, the assemblies passed resolutions asserting their exclusive right to lay taxes on their constituents.

In the summer of 1765, the expediency of calling a continental congress, to be composed of deputies from each of the provinces, was recommended by the assembly of Massachusetts; this was seconded in South Carolina; and the measure being adopted, thus was laid the foundation of the union of the States. To this congress the assemblies of Virginia, North Carolina, and Georgia, were prevented from sending deputies by their respective governors; but twenty-eight deputies met at the city of New York, and they agreed on a declaration of their grievances, and asserted in strong terms their right of exemption from all taxes not imposed by their own assemblies. Those

colonies also which were prevented from sending deputies, forwarded petitions similar to the declaration which was adopted by the congress, thus evincing that the whole were actuated by one common spirit, and that nothing but local impediments hindered their harmonious co-operation. At length, the 1st of November (the day when the stamp act was to take place) arrived. This was an eventful period, and as such it was regarded by the inhabitants, for at Boston and other places it was ushered in as if there was cause for general mourning.

Prior to this time, in order that it might be for the interest of the British government to repeal this obnoxious act, the colonists had entered into associations, by which they bound themselves not to purchase any goods from the parent country while it remained in force. The consequence of which was, that many thousands of artificers, &c. were thrown out of employ in Great Britain. Another association was formed, by some patriotic individuals, who called themselves the Sons of Liberty; and these persons agreed to march with the utmost expedition (at their own cost and expense) to the relief of all who should be in any danger from resisting the act. Alarmed at these formidable associations, and at that spirit of resistance which pervaded all ranks of society in the United States, the British government gave way; and, on the 18th of March, 1766, this famous act was repealed. To this desirable event, the wisdom and eloquence

of the renowned Earl of Chatham in no small degree contributed. In his speech on this memorable occasion, this venerable senator observed as follows: "You have no right to tax America. I rejoice that America has resisted: three millions of our fellow-subjects, so lost to every sense of virtue as tamely to give up their liberties, would be fit instruments to make slaves of the rest." In the house of lords, Lord Camden said, "My position is this,—I repeat it, I will maintain it to my last hour,—taxation and representation are inseparable. This position is founded on the laws of nature. It is more, it is itself the eternal law of nature: for whatsoever is a man's own, is absolutely his own; no man has a right to take it from him without his consent. Whoever attempts to do it, attempts an injury; whoever does it, commits a robbery."

But although the law was repealed, the principle was still retained; and a declaratory act was passed, by which it was avowed, "That parliament had, and of right ought to have, power to bind the colonies in all cases whatsoever." This avowal was better calculated to increase than to diminish the ferment. The colonists had gained a temporary victory; but the principle on which they acted, and which was of more consequence than the mere stamp act, had not been conceded. Nothing therefore remained, but for them to assert their rights, or to yield an unconditional submission to a species of authority which they disowned. To convince the colonists that the declaratory act was

not an idle boast, the British ministry, by an infatuation that seems incomprehensible, made a second attempt, in 1767, to impose taxes without the consent of those who contended they were not represented. It was during this year that Mr. Charles Townshend introduced a bill into parliament, for granting duties, in the British colonies, on glass, paper, painters' colours, and tea, which, with very trifling opposition, was passed into a law. The colonists resisted this measure on the same grounds as they had opposed the stamp act; and again refrained from ordering British goods. The assembly of Massachusetts, in particular, sent a circular letter to all the other provincial assemblies, recommending a resistance to the principle of taxation by the British parliament. This so exasperated the governor of that province, that he called it "a flagitious attempt to disturb the public peace." To prevent this, he dissolved the assembly, and a new one was convened; but the members of this were equally determined in their measures of resistance as the former, so that nothing was gained by this display of power.

The public mind being thus irritated, a trifling circumstance, in the year 1768, caused a riot in Boston, of which the following are the particulars: A sloop called the *Liberty*, belonging to a Mr. Hancock, a very celebrated character, was seized by the instruments of the British government. The populace, at first, did every thing they could to impede the officers who were employed in making



the seizure. At length the windows of the houses of the collector and comptroller of the customs were broken, and the lives of these gentlemen were in such danger, that they sought refuge on board a British man-of-war. These proceedings of the inhabitants of Boston caused several regiments of soldiers to be ordered to that place.

The resistance, however, of the colonists to the revenue act of 1767, becoming every where formidable, the British government once more rescinded all the taxes, with the exception of a small impost of threepence per pound on tea. In consequence of this, British manufactured goods were again ordered by the Americans; but they were determined on no account whatever to order any tea.

The British ministry, in order to conciliate, without relinquishing their authority, on discovering this resolution, entered into a sort of combination with the East India Company, who were by law authorized to export their tea free of duties to all places whatsoever. It was therefore determined, that the Company should export teas to America; and they accordingly appointed agents at different places. But this plan was disliked by the colonists, and popular vengeance was denounced against all those who should receive the tea. At Philadelphia a resolution was passed, "That whosoever shall, directly or indirectly, introduce, or attempt to introduce, or in any wise aid or abet in unloading, receiving, or vending, the tea

sent out, or to be sent out, by the East India Company, whilst it remains subject to the payment of a duty here, is an enemy to his country." Many of the agents who had been appointed, dared not to act; and even the pilots were afraid of piloting to the ports, vessels which had tea on board; in consequence of which, the captains of those vessels laden with tea, which were bound to New York and Philadelphia, on finding the public feeling in this state of ferment, determined to return to England without making any entry of their cargoes at the custom-house. At Boston, the case was somewhat different. The agents whom the East India Company had appointed there, being the particular friends of the governor, were desired not to act; but this they refused. The inhabitants of that town could not prevent the landing of the tea; therefore, when the vessel arrived, the cargo was discharged: but some persons, dressed as Indians, broke open 342 chests, and, without doing any other damage, discharged their contents into the river.

When these tidings reached Great Britain, the ministry were transported with rage; and an act was passed by parliament, (for it was then perfectly subservient to ministers,) by which the port of Boston was precluded from the privilege of landing or discharging, or of lading or shipping any goods, wares, or merchandise, whatever. Another act speedily followed, which was virtually to alter or annul the charter of the state of Massachusetts; for

it was enacted among other things, that the council, or second branch of the legislature, heretofore elected by the general court, were to be appointed by the crown. In short, the whole government would have been taken by this act from the people, and vested in the king or governor. This act was justly considered by the Americans as the height of oppressive power; for if ministers, by the aid of a subservient parliament, could annul their charters, they had nothing to protect their rights or liberties. Hence, upon the news arriving in America, of the passing of the Boston Port bill, it was again determined, that they would not order any British goods, &c. At length the day approached for closing the port of Boston. General Gage at this time was governor of Massachusetts; and he was also appointed Commander-in-chief of all the royal forces in North America. Troops also arrived at Boston, and cannon were placed to overawe the citizens. The Americans now formed an association, which they termed the Solemn League and Covenant; the subscribers to which bound themselves to suspend all commercial intercourse with Great Britain until the obnoxious laws were repealed; in consequence of which, General Gage published a proclamation, in which he styled this society, "an unlawful, hostile, and traitorous combination." In this state of affairs, General Gage convened a general assembly for the state of Massachusetts, to meet at Salem; but this he afterwards countermanded. Notwithstanding which,

and in defiance to this countermand, about ninety persons met, and addressed the governor.

On the 23d of November, 1774, two committees were appointed in Massachusetts, one of safety, and one of supply; the latter was empowered to purchase articles to the amount of fifteen thousand six hundred and twenty-seven pounds fifteen shillings sterling. This was the whole sum at first voted, to oppose the power of the mother country. In the meanwhile, in Great Britain, military stores, &c. were prohibited from being exported; and upon this intelligence reaching Rhode Island, the colonists seized upon forty pieces of cannon; and soon after about four hundred men seized upon King's Castle, at Portsmouth, from which they took a quantity of powder and muskets. The inhabitants in New England now began to train themselves to arms. The colonists also determined to call a general congress from all the provinces, and within four months from the day when the intelligence of the Boston Port Bill had been received, the deputies of twelve provinces had arrived in Philadelphia to form a congress. The instructions given to these deputies were unanimous in expressing in strong terms their loyalty to the monarch, and attachment to the parent state, and to disclaim every wish of a separation. On the other hand, they were decided in expressing their rights of not being taxed without their consent; and in avowing their determination not to allow of any evasion in their chartered rights as British sub-

jects. The congress complained of the acts of 4 Geo. III. ch. 15 & 34; 5 Geo. III. ch. 25; 6 Geo. III. ch. 52; 7 Geo. III. ch. 41; and 8 Geo. III. ch. 46: these were the different acts which have been already alluded to. This congress also recommended all importations from and exportations to Great Britain to be suspended. They likewise addressed the people of Great Britain, and concluded with the following words: "Place us in the same situation that we were in at the close of the late war, and our former harmony shall be restored." In their petition to the King, they said, "We ask but for peace, liberty, and safety; we wish not a diminution of the prerogative, nor do we solioit the grant of any new right in our favour. Your royal authority over us, and our connection with Great Britain, we shall always cheerfully and zealously endeavour to support and maintain." In less than eight weeks congress dissolved. At this time, although the colonists were well aware that they endured great disadvantages from the restrictions of trade and commerce, yet there is no doubt they would willingly have submitted thereto, rather than have come to an open rupture; and the rescinding of a few acts of parliament would then have satisfied them.

On the 9th of Feb. 1775, there was in Great Britain a joint address of the two houses of parliament to the King, in which they declared their opinion, that a rebellion existed in the province of Massachusetts; and they recommended effectual measures to be

taken to enforce due order and obedience. To describe as a rebellion what the deputies of twelve provinces had approved of, was nearly certain to drive the whole into a rebellion; it was almost tantamount to a declaration of war, and as such it was viewed in the colonies. Nothing therefore now remained for the colonists but a tame acquiescence, or an appeal to arms. But the British ministry, or parliament, had not yet completed their measure of folly, for a bill or act was passed about this time, restraining the New England states from fishing on the banks of Newfoundland; thus 45,880 tons of shipping were rendered useless, and more than six thousand seamen were thrown out of employment. When the news of this enactment arrived in America, even the indifferent were roused; those who had stood aloof took a decided part; and among all ranks, a dislike of public measures was matured into a deadly animosity against the British parliament.

Dr. Franklin, at this period, March 1775, was in London; an attempt was therefore made through him to accommodate the differences between the colonists and the parent state. For this purpose, he met two ministerial negotiators; and they agreed upon every thing, excepting the alteration in the charter of Massachusetts. This the ministry were determined to retain, stating that it was a real amendment to the constitution of that state. Against this, Dr. Franklin entered his protest, declaring, "That while parliament exercised at plea-

sure a power of altering their constitutions, there could be no agreement, as that would render the Americans unsafe in every privilege they enjoyed, and leave them nothing in which they would be secure." Soon after this, the Doctor left England.

The colonists, in April 1775, had collected military stores and ammunition at different places, one of which being at the town of Concord, about seventeen miles from Boston, General Gage, having received information of the circumstance, determined to obtain possession of them as quietly as possible. Accordingly, about eleven o'clock at night, on the 18th of April, 1775, he dispatched 800 men to march to Concord; but intelligence quickly spread of the object of the royal troops, and about seventy of the Lexington militia were collected. Major Pitcairn, who led the advanced corps of the British, rode up to them, saying, "Disperse, you rebels; throw down your arms, and disperse." They still, however, continued; on which he advanced, firing his pistol, and ordering the soldiers also to fire." The militia were dispersed after three had been killed; and the British destroyed the stores at Concord. The country at this time had become alarmed, and many of the colonists flew to the scene of action. The British were much annoyed in their retreat, for at one time four hundred provincials were engaged. In the conflict which ensued, the King's troops had 65 killed, 180 wounded, and 28 made prisoners; and the provincials had 50 killed, and 38 wounded or missing.

This was the first blood shed on the occasion of the resistance of the colonists to the oppressive conduct of the British government.

The provincial congress was sitting when this affair took place, and they dispatched an account of it to England, accompanied with this observation, "We are not yet detached from our royal sovereign," but "we determine to die, or be free." The intelligence of this battle spreading, the provincial congress of Massachusetts ordered an army of thirty thousand men to be raised. These were very soon collected; and the provinces of New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Connecticut, were formally made acquainted with the circumstance. The Americans, no doubt, at this time feared for the injury which Great Britain would do them; but on this point it was well observed by one of the South Carolina delegates—"Our houses are built of brick, stone, or wood; if they are destroyed, we can rebuild them,—but liberty once gone is lost for ever."

The colony of New York, which had hitherto appeared reluctant to be embroiled with the parent country, now heartily joined the other colonies. The cause had become common; an appeal had been made to arms, and all negotiations seemed to be entirely at an end.

On the 10th of May, 1775, another congress met; for before the members of the former one had separated, they recommended deputies to be chosen for this purpose. This congress forwarded



addresses to the parent state. To the people of Great Britain they observed, that they had no choice left but resistance or slavery. They had chosen the former. Their address to the King still contained expressions of their entertaining sentiments of loyalty and affection.

On June 15th, 1775, George Washington, a private gentleman of Virginia, was made Commander-in-chief of all the provincial troops which had been raised. An army of fourteen thousand men was placed under his command. In November, 1775, the Massachusetts assembly, together with the continental congress, resolved to fit out armed vessels to cruise on the American coast, for the purpose of intercepting supplies of warlike stores, &c. designed for the British army. The object at first was limited, but afterwards it became general. Their first attempts were successful; they made several captures of vessels which had warlike stores on board. The provincials likewise obtained possession of the fort of Ticonderoga, where they obtained a great supply of ammunition, &c. About this time, Sir Grey Carleton, who was governor of Canada, determined to engage the Indians against the colonists, and for this purpose he invited some of the tribes to "feast on a Bostonian, and drink his blood;" but nothing more was intended by this expression than merely to invite them to a feast.

General Howe had succeeded General Gage in the command of Boston. He was an officer of

great merit and ability, but being cut off from all supplies of provisions, &c. his troops were reduced to a miserable condition; and on the 17th of March, 1776, he was compelled to evacuate the town of Boston, leaving stores, &c. to the value of at least thirty thousand pounds sterling.

In this year, the British government engaged sixteen thousand foreign troops, to co-operate with them in endeavouring to reduce the colonists to obedience.

Affairs having reached this alarming crisis, and the colonists beginning to feel their own power, and finding all their overtures for peace and reconciliation treated with silent contempt, turned their thoughts into a different channel. As parliament still persisted in the right to tax them without their own consent, and to alter or annul their charters as they thought proper, they considered themselves as having no security for their property or liberties; and conceiving, that even if matters were apparently accommodated, yet they might be subject to a recurrence of the same tyrannous and oppressive conduct; they therefore, for these, and for many other weighty reasons, issued, on the 4th day of July, 1776, a declaration of independence, renouncing all connection with Great Britain, and declaring themselves a free, sovereign, and independent power, under the term or title of the United States of North America. This declaration of independence concluded in the following words: "We, therefore, the representatives of the United States

of America, in general congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name and by the authority of the good people of these colonies, solemnly publish and declare,—that these united colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connection between them and the state of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved; and that, as free and independent states, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which independent states may of right do. And for the support of this declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our most sacred honour.” This event took place 284 years after the discovery of America by Columbus, and about 150 years from the first effectual settlements by the British in this part of the globe.

From the 17th of March, 1776, to July of the following year, there were many military operations. But though General Washington shewed a great degree of coolness, ability, and bravery, yet the advantages, generally speaking, appeared to be in favour of the royal troops. The colonists, however, were decidedly hostile to the British interest, and watched every opportunity to annoy the invading forces. Hence, although they occupied the two

great cities of New York and Philadelphia, yet whenever any party of soldiers penetrated into the country, and became exposed, the colonists, always on the alert, pursued them with vigilant circumspection, and frequently cut them off. The British therefore might be said to possess little more than the land on which they trod.

In the spring of 1777, General Burgoyne succeeded Sir Grey Carleton in the command of the British army in Canada. In the summer of that year, the army under his command advanced from Canada, and took possession of Triconderoga on Lake Champlain, which had been abandoned by the Americans. Having crossed Lake George on the 14th of September, he crossed Hudson's river near Saratoga, on a bridge of boats, without much opposition; so that on the 17th of September, the advanced guard of the royalist troops was within four miles of the American army. On the 18th the advanced posts of the two armies came in contact; skirmishing ensued, but without causing a general engagement. The armies were, however, so situated, that a decisive battle must of consequence follow. The British army consisted of about seven thousand, including British, German, and American royalists, besides a number of Indians. General Burgoyne was first in command, General Frazer next. Baron Reidesel commanded the Germans. On the 7th of October, General Burgoyne determined to move forward, for the situation of the British army had become precarious, in conse-

quence of the enemy hemming them in on all sides; he therefore made this movement, in order if possible to break through the American army, and effect a retreat. The engagement which ensued was deplorable in its consequences to the British: they lost in killed and wounded 1200; but the greatest misfortune was, that it appeared probable the army would eventually have to surrender to the Americans.

The following account of this affair, is extracted from a German publication, by the Baroness Reidesel, who followed her husband in this expedition. The Baroness with her three little ones, Lady Harriet Ackland, (the wife of Major Ackland, who commanded the British grenadiers,) and two or three other ladies, dwelt in a small house or hut, close to the place where the battle of the 7th of October took place. The Baroness, in her narrative, says, "Severe trials awaited us on the 7th; then our misfortunes began. I was at breakfast with my husband, and heard that something was intended. On that day, I expected Generals Burgoyne, Philips, and Frazer, to dine with us. I observed a great movement among the troops; my husband told me it was a mere reconnoissance, which gave me no concern, as it often occurred. I walked out, and met several Indians in their war dresses, with guns in their hands. When I asked them where they were going, they said, 'War! war!' (meaning they were going to battle;) this caused considerable appre-

hension. I had scarcely got to my hut, before I heard reports of cannon and musketry, which grew louder by degrees, until at last the noise became excessive. About four o'clock in the afternoon, instead of the guests whom I expected, General Frazer was brought on a litter mortally wounded. The table, which was already set for dinner, was instantly removed, and a bed placed in its stead for the wounded general. I sat trembling in a corner. The noise grew louder, and the alarm increased. The thought that my husband would be brought in wounded in the same manner was terrible to me, and distressed me exceedingly. General Frazer said to the surgeon, 'Tell me if my wound is mortal, do not flatter me.' The ball had passed through his body; the wound was mortal. I heard him often exclaim with a sigh, 'Oh fatal ambition! Poor General Burgoyne! Oh my wife! Towards evening I saw my husband coming; then I forgot all my sorrows; I thanked God that he was spared to me.'

The German Baroness spent a considerable part of the night in endeavouring to comfort Lady Harriet Ackland, whose husband, Major Ackland, had that day, the 7th, been severely wounded, and taken prisoner by the Americans. Of herself, she proceeds thus—"I could not go to sleep, as I had General Frazer, and all the other wounded gentlemen, in my room; and I was sadly afraid that my children would awake, and by their crying disturb the dying officer in his last moments. He

often addressed me, and apologized for the trouble he gave. About three o'clock in the morning I was told he could not hold out much longer. I desired to be informed of the near approach of the fatal crisis; and I then wrapped up my children in their clothes, and went with them into the room below. About eight o'clock in the morning General Frazer died. The corpse was wrapped up in a sheet, and we had the sorrowful sight before us the whole of the day."

The lady of the wounded Major Ackland determined to go to the American army, in order to attend upon her husband. Here were two ladies, who had been accustomed to every indulgence and delicacy, yet abandoning all from a principle of duty and affection, sharing the toils and dangers of a camp, in order that if their husbands were wounded, they might assuage their grief and uneasiness by their care and tenderness. Let the female in the splendid drawing-room, bedizened with tinsel, and gulping flattery,—let her be compared to these ladies,—and she is even less than a butterfly in the comparison.

A little before this time, a circumstance occurred which caused the public condolence to be excited: although this was only the death of one individual, at a time and near a place were thousands were falling, yet the death of this one elicited more of the public horror than the death of thousands. What I now allude to was the fate of Miss M'Crea, a young lady, who was the affianced

bride of a Mr. Jones, an American royalist, who was attached to Burgoyne's army. The gentleman wishing to obtain his young and lovely bride, dispatched a party of Indians to escort her to the British camp. Against the earnest solicitations, and even the remonstrances, of her friends, she entrusted herself to their savage protection. She set forward with the Indians on horseback. They had not proceeded far, when the party arrived at a spring, where they halted. The impatient lover had engaged a second party of Indians, whom he dispatched on the same errand. Both parties met at this spring, which was about half a mile from Fort Edward. A quarrel arose between the two parties of Indians, each contending that they would be entitled to receive the promised reward (a barrel of rum) for escorting the lady. Both parties were now attacked by some Americans; at the close of the conflict, the young lady was found tied to a tree, tomahawked and scalped. In the midst of war and devastation, this shocking occurrence excited general sympathy. Indeed, those who could not commiserate the lover for the loss of a bride by this tragical occurrence, must possess a callousness of feeling which none will envy. Thus it is, that the death of an individual who plays a great part on the stage of public life, or the death of any one under peculiarly horrid circumstances, arrests universal attention; whilst thousands fall in battle, and they are merely considered as a trophy of victory or success on the part of the conqueror;



the vanquished general likewise notices their loss, as he would the loss of so many muskets. Yet these victims of ambition had either wives, children, fathers, mothers, or other relatives or friends, to deplore their decease, and to feel the void which they had left in the world. Every one had a soul, and in the eye of Omniscience that soul was as valuable as the one contained in the coil of a king or conqueror, though the former may be decorated with the purple, and his brows enriched with a crown, and the other may have had the success of causing millions of his fellow-creatures to go to an untimely tomb, and to an eternity for which they were unprepared.— But to return to General Burgoyne, and the situation of the British army.

The Americans had collected a force of about 18,000 men, by whom the British were surrounded. The royalist troops did not now amount to 6000, and every part of the camp was exposed to the grape and rifle shot of the enemy; and the discharges from the American artillery were almost incessant. In this calamitous state, the British continued until the evening of the 13th of October, when there were not more than three days' provisions remaining. A council of war was called, in which it was unanimously determined, that there was no method but to treat with the enemy.

In consequence of this, a negotiation was opened the next day, which speedily terminated in a capitulation of the whole British forces: the principal article was, "That the troops were to

have a free passage to Great Britain, on condition of not serving against America during the war." The number of those who thus surrendered at Saratoga amounted to about 6000. Thirty-five brass field-pieces, 7000 stand of arms, clothing for an equal number of soldiers, with all the tents, baggage, military chest, &c. thus became the reward of the conquerors. This memorable occurrence took place on the 17th of October, 1777. Throughout all North America, the joy of the inhabitants was boundless. The effects of this victory were of still greater importance. It may be said to have laid the foundation for France to recognize them as an independent power, and, finally, of joining, or making a common cause, with the colonists.

The conduct of France in this instance has by some writers been severely reprobated, as it was said to have had a tendency to excite subjects to rebel against their sovereigns. France, however, had long viewed the British power in North America with great jealousy; and to observe the British possessing so great a dominion in Europe, Asia, and America, excited her envy. There are none who act so true to republican principles as kings and courts; they aim to be on a perfect equality, and whenever one is towering over the rest, they wish to pull him down; nor have they any objections to make a change in any country, if that alteration is likely to be beneficial to themselves.

In the year 1778, a treaty of alliance was entered into between France and the United States. The British government now perceived the folly of their conduct; and when they were informed that this treaty was on the tapis, they dispatched commissioners to America, to treat of a reconciliation, which they had despised before. But it was then too late; Congress would not treat, unless on the basis of an acknowledgment of the independence of the colonies, especially as the French government had dispatched a considerable force to aid the Americans.

In the years 1778 and 1779, nothing decisive occurred in the military operations, which was likely to have the effect of stopping the effusion of blood. In 1780 an expedition was undertaken, under the command of Lord Cornwallis, against Charleston in South Carolina. After a close siege of that place for about six weeks, the town was surrendered to the British commander; and General Lincoln, and the whole American garrison, were made prisoners. Lord Cornwallis, after this event, routed and dispersed all the American forces which were brought against him in the south. This tide of success continuing for some time, he considered that he had actually subdued all the Southern States to obedience, and he determined upon marching to Virginia.

Having arrived in Virginia, he fixed upon a place called York town, which he strongly fortified, and where he drew together all his forces.

General Washington, together with the French troops, moved to the southward with the greatest celerity imaginable, and he soon arrived at Yorktown, where Lord Cornwallis and the British army were fortified. The Americans invested the place with numerous forces, and Lord Cornwallis was obliged to surrender himself, and his whole army, prisoners of war to the combined armies of France and America. The forces under the command of his Lordship amounted to about 7000. By the articles of capitulation, it was agreed that the soldiers should be prisoners to the United States, and the seamen to France; all the British vessels at York town and Gloucester were to be delivered up, together with all the cannon and military stores. This important event took place on the 19th of October, 1781; and in its immediate consequences, it may be said to have terminated the contest, and laid the foundation for a general pacification.

The capture of Lord Cornwallis did not, however, put an immediate end to hostilities; yet no longer could any hopes be entertained of subjugating the colonies. On the 30th of November, 1782, preliminary articles of peace were signed at Paris, by which Great Britain acknowledged the independence of the United States of North America. These articles were soon afterwards ratified by a definitive treaty. Thus closed this long and arduous conflict, in which Great Britain, through an ambitious administration, lost one of the grandest appendages that was ever attached to

an empire. The folly of the measures that were then pursued, is now seen in its proper light, and perhaps it will exhibit to posterity the foulest blot that stains her political history.

The American revolution holds out a lesson for princes not to let their measures tend to a point where forbearance terminates, and indignation commences. The people, once roused, are like a mighty torrent; and in their impetuosity, or wrath, governments, which have existed for ages, are swept away in a moment. During the progress of this revolution, the colonists endured great distress, evils, and privations. Money was so scarce, that congress resorted to the mode of issuing paper currency. At first this was taken or passed for its nominal value, but the issues became so excessive, that very soon one silver dollar would purchase as much as one hundred paper dollars. Still it was a legal tender for debts. Had a person previously made purchases, he could afterwards have sold (say in 1779 and 1780) the useful and necessary articles at such a price in paper money, that by the sale of one or two hogs he would pay for a slave; a few cattle for a comfortable house; and one or two good horses would have sold for so much paper money as would pay for a good farm, which had been contracted for a few years previously. This in many cases was actually done. In their private circumstances and property the inhabitants had suffered much, as many of their towns had been burnt or destroyed. But this was of little conse-

quence in their estimation, when compared with the grand objects for which they fought, and which they finally obtained ; namely, the blessing of freedom, a deliverance from the dominion of a foreign power, and a name among the independent nations of the world.

Previously to the revolution, the importance of the colonies was not duly appreciated by any of the powers of Europe. But when that event took place, and the great resistance was observed, which the colonists could oppose to the whole British power, then they appeared to the nations of Europe as a brilliant meteor, which was rising resplendent and triumphant in the political horizon.

“ With the sight of a star the nations were blest,  
T’was a luminous star, the star of the west.  
Its glory and brightness was seen from afar,  
It was known, and was called—bright liberty’s star.”

Although none of the European powers granted any effectual aid to the colonists, excepting France, yet all had an interest in their success, and hence they had the sincere good wishes of all. The commercial prosperity to which Great Britain had attained, had then begun to excite the jealousy of every continental power ; and that she might be dismembered of her North American colonies was the wish of every one, since such an event would not only weaken her force, but hold forth a prospect of commercial advantage to all maritime and

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manufacturing European countries. The United States was therefore soon acknowledged as an independent power, and her alliance courted by every potentate in Europe.

## CHAP. IV.

## THE CIVIL CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES.

**DURING** the disputes of the colonists with Great Britain, deputies had been appointed from the several provinces, to meet, or form a general congress. The colonists were well aware that in what regarded their rights or liberties, all the provinces had a similitude of interest. Hence, so early as the year 1754, they had recommended a general government to be formed for the whole of the states.

In that year, 1754, France and Great Britain were embroiled in war; in consequence of which a general meeting of the governors, and influential members of the councils or assemblies, was held at Albany, in the state of New York. Those who attended at this congress, were unanimous in their opinion, that from the complexion of public affairs, a union of the colonies was necessary; and they proposed a plan to the following effect: "That a grand council should be formed, of members to be chosen by the provincial assemblies, which council (together with a governor to be appointed by the crown) should be authorized to make general laws, and also to raise money from the colonies



for their common defence." The leading members at this meeting were furthermore of opinion, that if this plan were adopted, they could defend themselves against the French, without any assistance from Great Britain; but this recommendation was not adopted by the British ministry.

When the disputes with the parent state took that serious turn, which the colonists conceived authorized them to take up arms, they determined to form a congress, by appointing deputies from the different provinces; and when war was determined upon, the members of this congress continued their sittings. They appointed officers to the army; they issued bills; and they took upon them the direction or government of the whole provinces. Articles also of confederation and perpetual union had been framed in congress, and submitted to the consideration of the States, in the year 1778, about two years after the declaration of independence. To this general union several of the states immediately acceded; but others, which had no unappropriated lands, refused their concurrence. All objections, however, were overcome in March 1781, by the acquiescence of the state of Maryland. In consequence of this, all the articles of confederation were ratified as the form of government, or constitution, of the United States.

As this constitution was formed while war was extending its ravages, and while the issue of the contest was doubtful, and being formed by men who had no practical knowledge of government,

many defects crept into their plan, which at that time escaped their observation ; but on the termination of hostilities, these defects became obvious, and it was found necessary to give a new direction to the operation of several principles. Jealous of their rights and privileges, each particular state turned its attention to the local interests and liberties of its inhabitants ; and in their provincial assemblies, they assumed to themselves the power of withholding their consent to the acts of the general congress. Some indeed went so far as to charge the grand confederation with exercising powers inimical to their rights or liberties ; but nearly all concurred in wishing for a republican form of government. And, indeed, if they had been solicitous to establish a monarchy, it would have been difficult to fix upon any prince or individual to have exalted to the throne, without embroiling them in a civil war. None but the king of Great Britain could claim an hereditary right of rule ; and he had formally renounced that right, and acknowledged their independence of his crown or jurisdiction. Some publications of Paine had also appeared, and, as a political writer, his principles of government were not without their influence on the public mind.

At the distance of 3000 miles from Britain, with the ocean intervening, royal government had indeed been but feebly felt and supported in the provinces ; but the Puritans, who first peopled the New England states, having been shamefully persecuted

in England, a rooted hatred to tyranny was fixed in their very souls. The persecutions they had endured were told to their children or descendants, so that the seeds of hatred and animosity lay lurking in ambush; and upon the first shower of oppression, these seeds were ready to spring up; and they were glad to retaliate (as they considered) the wrongs which they and their forefathers had endured.

In some of the provinces, the first settlers were Dutch; these could not be supposed to have much affection for British rule; and in those states where nearly half the population were slaves, any thing like tyranny was sure to be resented. The owners of slaves, although they keep others in slavery, are men whose oppugnancy is the soonest roused against any species of oppressive conduct. Paine's political works were therefore strewed upon a soil ripe for vegetation. Conceiving, as the colonists did, that all the British tyrannical acts were owing to court parasites and panders, vermin which gorge and fatten under the sunshine of a king; from hating these, they began to hate the kingly office. Franklin, Jefferson, and some other leading characters, were republicans from principle; and Washington was not a man of ambitious character; and it was sure to happen, even if Washington had aspired to a crown, that he would have been opposed, for none of the leaders of the revolt would have viewed with pleasure the elevation of any but himself. A republican government, in

which the sovereignty of the people was recognized, in which the people merely entrusted power for their own benefit and safety, was therefore formed ; and this government, as it now is, and with its capability of improvement, is deserving of being called “ the greatest monument of human wisdom.” While the constitution was thus undergoing revisions, receiving amendments, and sustaining alterations, great inconvenience was experienced by the inhabitants, from the want of some permanent principles of union ; and it is not improbable that these inconveniences urged many to abandon diminutive considerations of local interest for the general good. Its various branches, however, having been amply discussed, and minutely examined in all their ramifications and bearings, received the final ratification on the 9th of January, 1788. Since that period, its leading principles have remained sacred and inviolable, as an important treasure, which generation will transmit through generation, to the latest posterity.

This constitution is a democratic representation of the older one of Great Britain, having an elective chief in the stead of a king ; a senate, (the members of which are elected,) with nearly similar powers to the house of lords ; and an assembly of representatives, where the British house of commons is taken for the model of its formation.

The president of the United States is elected to serve for four years ; but he is eligible to be re-elected *ad infinitum*. He is chosen by the citizens

of each state appointing electors ; these meet, and make choice of the president, as well as of the vice-president ; and the members of every state send the result of their votes sealed to the senate, where the seals are broken, and it is declared on whom the choice has fallen.

The power of the president is very circumscribed when compared with the prerogatives of the British king. He is amenable to the law the same as any other citizen. He can be tried for high treason. He can neither declare war, make peace, nor appoint ambassadors, without the consent of the senate ; and in several other appointments also, he requires the sanction of the same authority. Although he may be said to have a veto relative to all acts of congress ; yet, if this be exercised against the opinion of the senate and representatives, their act becomes a law, provided two-thirds of both houses agree in the expediency of such a measure, notwithstanding the president's disapproval. In other respects, the president is a similar officer to the British king, being the high executive officer of the United States.

The vice-president is chairman of the senate, without the privilege of voting, unless the members are equal ; in that case, he has a casting vote. Provided the president should be impeached or become deceased, then the vice-president would exercise the functions of the high officer *pro tempore*, or until another president was chosen.

The senate is formed by two deputies from

each state being appointed ; and consequently at present there are forty-eight senators in that branch of the legislature.

The house of representatives is formed by the citizens throughout the union electing the members. It is proposed that in future there shall be one member elected to this house, for every forty-five thousand inhabitants.

Besides the general government of the United States, each particular state has a governor, senate, and representative assembly, in order that their local affairs may be attended to ; and that the administration of justice, the preservation of the peace, &c. may be maintained. These state constitutions are in general preceded by a declaration of rights—"That all men are born equally free and independent ;" and every provision is made to guard the freedom of the person, and the right of property of the citizen herein ; as well as (that which is the great bulwark of all free communities, but the terror of all bad or tyrannical governments,) the freedom of the press. The press in the United States is almost as free and uncontrolled as are the thoughts of man : where this is the case, the government must be good. Before a free press, error disappears, as the shades of night are dispelled by the sun. Where a free press is established, bad or wicked governors must either alter their conduct, or they must leave the administration of affairs to wiser or better hands than their own. A free press is the invigorating principle of

a free government. The different religious sects are not only tolerated, but liberty of conscience is admitted as a natural right; for tolerance implies permission, therefore, it is declared, that all men are free to worship God in such mode as they think proper.

The supreme governor in some states, is chosen by the people; in others, by the state legislature. He has power to grant pardons for capital offences; to remit punishments, &c. He is likewise the commander-in-chief of the state militia. He has also a vote upon the acts passed by the houses of representatives and senate of the particular state of which he is governor; nevertheless, even though he should disapprove of any particular act, it becomes a law, provided, upon reconsideration, two thirds of the members of the two houses should adhere to their former determination. But as the general principles of the government in the United States is best exemplified by an appeal to fact, at the end of the chapter, I shall give some extracts from the state constitutions.

There is one great defect in the constitution of the United States as it regards the president; and the same may be said also as it respects some of the state governors. The president is chosen or elected for four years; but every one has been once re-elected to the presidency excepting John Adams. If the president be desirous of being re-elected, this desire will naturally have the effect of causing a degree of subservience to the pre-

dominant party or interest. The highest executive officer of the empire ought, undoubtedly, to be beyond the reach of being benefited by any future vote.

At present, the democratic interest is ascendant; and the president, James Munroe, it is supposed, is one of their partisans. But circumstances may sometimes occur, in which it may be just and proper for the president to act against the feelings of his own party, and even against the popular wish. Such a circumstance, in my opinion, occurred at nearly the close of Munroe's first presidency. The incident to which I now allude, relates to the conduct of General Jackson in his invasion of Florida, then a territory belonging to Spain. His sanguinary behaviour on that occasion has covered his name with infamy, and reflected on his country a badge of dishonour which the lapse of ages will hardly efface. To conceal his real intentions on that disastrous enterprise, he pretended that he went thither in pursuit of some hostile Indians; but various circumstances connected with this dark expedition, plainly indicate that he was actuated by very different motives. The American government, indeed, ashamed to acknowledge his actions, publicly stated, that his flagrant violation of the neutrality of Florida, was directly contrary to their express orders; but even this avowal furnished only a wretched apology for themselves, but left his barbarity without any palliation.



With respect to the statement of the government, the writer of this article can aver, that he was informed, by a man calling himself Thomas Hulme of Philadelphia, several months before Jackson invaded Florida, that he would do so, and that it would be connived at by the government. This Hulme, he must, however, own, was a character on whom little dependence could be placed; but having lent the vice-president a sum of money, of which he was continually vaunting, he pretended that he was intrusted by him with some of the secrets of government. However, this man, Hulme, told the author that Jackson would invade Florida, pretending that he went thither in pursuit of the hostile Indians. This territory he actually did invade, and took prisoners two Englishmen, one of whom was engaged by the Indians as an officer; the other was a mere commercial character. These men, Jackson tried by a court-martial, and some of the members who sat on the court were men who had been appointed officers by himself, in direct violation of the constitution of the country; and as such we may consider them as mere servitors to his will, and ministers of his vengeance. The court-martial sentenced one of these Englishmen to the punishment of death; but the other, the mercantile character, to a punishment not so severe; yet this sanguinary fiend, Jackson, ordered both to be executed.

Admitting both facts, there cannot be a doubt, that the one who engaged as an officer with the

Indians, had the same right to do so, and to combat with the Americans, as any member of a neutral state would have had to combine with the Americans to fight against the savages. Of the other, the pretended crime was, that, as a merchant, he had sold arms to the Indians; but how this could justify Jackson in punishing him with death, is a question on which the public have long since decided to his perpetual infamy; for without all doubt, were he so disposed, he had as equitable a right to sell his merchandise to them, as he would have had to furnish the same articles to the government of the United States. Jackson is, however, a favourite with the present predominant democratic party, and, as such, the executive branch of government must overlook all transactions which he commits, how flagrant soever they may be. This is one of the evils inseparable from the present mode of electing a president for a certain number of years, and his being afterwards eligible to a re-election. So long as this power is retained, he either cannot, or will not, act with a truly patriotic and independent spirit; but were he to be elected only for a given number of years, perhaps seven, without being eligible to a re-election, he would by this means be more free from the suspicious control of party. This high executive officer cannot be too far removed from the action of popular feeling, which, in republican states, frequently flows with an overwhelming tide, the influence of which very few

have either the fortitude or the virtue to withstand.

Among the contending factions incessantly embroiled in political warfare, the most respectable part of the community throughout the United States, was the federalists. These men were attached to order and good government; but this party, it may be said, became defunct on the accession of Jefferson to the presidency, for on that occasion democracy triumphed. The federalists had previously filled most of the different public offices or situations throughout the union; but on Jefferson's accession, all were discarded. Men, who had been lavish of their blood and property during the revolutionary war,—men, who had ably and honourably filled the different offices of the State,—were alike discarded; past services were of no avail. Democracy was triumphant, which, like the irruption of a savage intoxicated with success, infirmity had not the power to soothe. In this local revolution, ability had no power to recommend; nor had heroic deeds, that once were brilliant, a sufficiency of lustre to protect those by whom they had been performed: the democratic party was dominant, and they determined to leave nothing which their victory enabled them to secure.

An hereditary chief, let him be called president or king, holds an office which has its advantages; it is beyond the region or vortex of party, and it serves to restrain the factious or ambitious. But in a government like the United States, where the

people have every thing to bestow, and the multitude, as in every other country, are ignorant, selfish, and sometimes governed by the most vicious passions; those who will condescend to be their apologists or panders, will be frequently elevated to situations for which they are totally incapacitated.

The next officer to the president is the vice-president: but his office appears useless; nor is it associated with any ideas of importance in the eyes of the inhabitants. He is chairman of the senate; but how easily could the senate elect some one of their body to preside at their meetings. In case of the death or impeachment of the president, then, indeed, he is to exercise the higher functions; but if the president and vice-president were both to be implicated in the same treasonable concerns, the latter would, of all others, be the most unfit to fill his station. In such a case, the senate would be the most proper to appoint some one to act as president *ad interim*.

The senate is a body composed of individuals very properly calculated, on the one hand, to prevent any act from becoming a law which has been passed by the legislative assembly in subservience to an improper popular feeling, and also to restrain the ambition of a president. Ever since the establishment of the senate, their measures have been such as to shew that they are the most important branch of the legislature.

The legislative assembly resembles our house of

commons ; but the members having their appointments immediately from the people, and these generally giving their votes by ballot, they have no rich landed proprietors to control them ; they are therefore freely chosen by the public. It does not always occur, that individuals of the greatest talent and probity are elected ; it often happens that noisy demagogues are chosen, who obtain their employments or situations by flattering the base passions of the multitude, or in consequence of having been recommended by some democratic party.

In the late circumstance of the admission of Missouri into the union, with a toleration of slavery, several members of congress, both from New York, New Jersey, and other of the Eastern States, voted for the measure. One of the members who thus voted, was actually president of an Emancipation Society in New Jersey. An opinion was generally entertained, that money was actually given to obtain some votes, as the opposition at first in congress was so great against admitting that state into the union with this toleration of slavery. Mr. Randolph, one of the members of congress, actually intimated that some of the opposition members had been brought to vote for the measure in consequence of a *douceur* being granted ; and certainly, to those who have been long accustomed to bribes, it does not appear probable that those members from the free states would have hazarded their popularity, and their future return to congress, without some other motive than expediency,

which they urged. In justice, however, to the public it must be stated, that five out of six of the members from the Eastern States, who thus voted, were not re-elected or returned to congress.

The state governments are a miniature representation of the general one, containing a governor, lieutenant-governor, senate, and legislature. Many of these legislatures are merely the echo of the predominant party. This has lately been the case in the state of New York, where the democratic influence has acquired the ascendancy. The Governor de Witt Clinton, who was of no party, appointed to the different public offices in the state, men, who, by their talent, &c. were the most proper; but since the democrats have obtained the majority in the legislature, they have thwarted the governor in every possible way, because he will not consent to be their tool, having expelled all from the public situations which they held, who were not of the democratic or republican party. Indeed, these men unblushingly come forward to lay claim to all public places of honour or emolument, merely on account of their politics. The editor of *The National Advocate*, (a daily paper of the city of New York) openly advanced the opinion, that the democratic party had a right to them; and when this party had the majority in the council of appointment, he *very modestly* recommended himself for the situation of sheriff of the city and county of New York, the most

lucrative office in the state; and what is more remarkable, he obtained, and now holds the situation.

The members of congress, and of the state legislatures, are many of them lawyers, and the influence of their profession may frequently be perceived operating in the councils. Hence, although some individuals of this class are very useful and necessary in these assemblies, yet, in general, lawyers cavil too much on technical points, and lose sight of more substantial and important measures. Nearly the whole of the great officers throughout the union are lawyers. The president, vice-president, secretaries, &c. are all lawyers. This may account for those long precise cavilling state papers of the United States government which are occasionally exhibited.

Some of the members in the state legislatures are very illiterate characters; farmers, who know nothing beyond the mere cultivation of a field of corn. A late American writer (Tudor) mentions, that one of the members in the legislature of Massachusetts wished to have a bank chartered in a certain town. In favour of the measure, he mentioned that the town was very poor; but that a great deal of money passed through it. He appeared to think that a bank would catch money as nets do fish. Another, in the same legislature, wanted a bank, because, as he said, they were poor, there being little else but sand in the neighbourhood of his town. This Solomon seemed to think that

sand was to be converted into a fruitful soil by means of a bank.

Some of the members in the state legislature of New Jersey are of Dutch descent, and not well acquainted with the English language. On one occasion, when the subject of the militia was under debate, one of these Dutchmen, listening very attentively for a long time, heard many remarks relative to the *organizing* the different regiments of militia in the different counties. He at length rose in great wrath, stating that he had been engaged in the revolutionary war, and that they had no music then but drums and fifes. That he did not like *organs* at church, and he would never consent for *organs* to be used by the militia. Drums and fifes would do very well.

The qualification for electors in the United States, consists in male persons being of full age, and paying taxes, or possessing some trifling property. In general, votes are given by ballots. The elections are almost always conducted without tumult or riot, and the polls are closed in two days. Any one who has been in the United States, and who has witnessed the ease and facility with which representatives are chosen, would certainly recommend this mode of taking votes by ballot, for it causes bribery to be of no avail.

In the city of New York, it frequently occurs, that some of the lower Irish, who have been accustomed to the noisy, riotous, and senseless clamour and tumult of Irish elections, considering



themselves in a land of liberty, determine to interfere. To give an idea of what is the opinion of liberty which some of them entertain, I will relate what was told to me by a mercantile gentleman at New York.

He stated, that in a vessel consigned to him was a man and his family from Ireland. The merchant assisted the Irishman, by accompanying him to the custom-house, to enter his luggage, and also by going with him to the Mayor's office. Pat, as we will term him, was lavish in his expression of thanks, for the merchant had assisted him gratuitously.

About twelve months afterwards, there was an election at New York, and each party was extremely solicitous of success. This merchant was one who scrutinized the voters for the federalists. Pat was very active on the democratic side; he was all noise and vociferation against the tory federalists, and very busy in bringing up to the poll the democratic voters. Upon this, the gentleman calmly addressed him, and concluded by saying, that he thought, until he was a citizen, he ought to refrain from taking so conspicuous a part. "Why," says Pat, in reply, "here I have come 3000 miles, and crossed the Atlantic to enjoy glorious liberty and freedom; and now," says he, "when I am enjoying the constitution, you tory federalists are finding fault."—"Nay," replied the gentleman, "if this be the sort of freedom you crossed the Atlantic to

enjoy, I should be sorry to deprive you of it; and you have my hearty consent to make as much noise as you think proper."

There is one particular feature of the United States' constitution that demands admiration, and that is, the facility of amendment of which it is susceptible. It wisely provides for a recurrence to first principles; thus congress, and the state legislatures, have it in their power to amend it; or if the canker worm of corruption infects it, they can lop off the extraneous member. Whilst I resided in the country, the separation took place between the district of Maine and Massachusetts. Those who proposed the measure were vigorously opposed, but they were not branded with any disgraceful epithet. Although Maine had been united to Massachusetts even from the year 1652, and in the charter of William and Mary in 1691 it was incorporated with the State of Massachusetts; yet the inhabitants of Maine, conceiving that their local interests would be better attended to by their becoming a distinct state, nothing was more easy; they petitioned congress, and it was immediately formed into a free and independent state.

There is one circumstance, which would make us conceive that the government of the United States was stronger and better than any government in Europe; this is, the great freedom of speech and writing which is allowed. Persons may, in either way, abuse the President or the

Senate, and they may even extol monarchy, but we never hear of any prosecutions for sedition, libel, &c. In many instances this liberty is abused ; but that scorpion, that reptile, the spy, is never employed by the United States government. They know that it is a government founded upon the "eternal law of nature;" and that it is so strong in public esteem, that they have nothing to fear from the factious or seditious. Treason, which in monarchical countries is considered so heinous, is a crime even there ; yet many crimes are considered as deserving a greater punishment than treason.

Some persons maintain, that the republican form of government of the United States is not likely to endure. They predict a separation of the states. In support of their opinion, they instance the dissolution of all former republican governments. They say, that the jarring interests of the Eastern and Southern States must assuredly lead to angry discussions in congress ; and eventually, to a rupture or separation. Those who maintain these opinions, ought, however, to bear in mind, that, previously to the independence of the United States, there never yet was formed a complete republican representative government like it, or one which bore any resemblance to it. Neither the government of the republics of Greece, Rome, of Great Britain during the protectorate, nor the more recent republican governments of France, bore any affinity or analogy to the con-

stitution of the United States. To speak of the probability of a separation between the states is egregious folly: such an opinion may be entertained by those who have never viewed the country; and by those, who, having been in the country, have viewed it with a jaundiced eye; determined to see nothing great, virtuous, happy, or good, in a republic, or in a government without a king. There are not, perhaps, in any one state, fifty persons who wish for a separation; or who wish for the establishment of monarchy. Why should they?—are they heavily taxed? and do those taxes go to decorate or nourish the insects, the butterflies, or the apes, who bask in the sunshine, or who gambol or play their tricks in the precincts of a court? No, they are lightly taxed; no more is exacted than what is absolutely necessary to move the wheels of government, by which law, justice, &c. are dispensed. The friend of a limited monarchy must rejoice in the establishment of such a republic in the world: it will make kings of other countries respect the eternal rights of their fellow men, though they are subjects; as it proves to monarchs, that they are greatly indebted to the people who support them in magnificence and splendour, and in a style which prejudice and old habits render requisite. All the people of the United States view the central government as the bond or cement of their republican institutions; they view it as the sun of their political hemisphere, enlightening,

benefiting, and giving security to the states, and to every citizen in the remotest part of the united empire. The constitution is not liable to decay, for it contains within itself the germ of resuscitation; and as such, we may with safety predict as long a continuance to this republican government as any human superstructure has ever attained.

Having thus given a general outline of the legislative functions in the United States, I shall conclude this chapter, agreeably to my promise, with some brief extracts from the fundamental principles of their federal government.

The preamble to the Constitution of the United States thus commentes :—We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, ensure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

The first section of the first article states, That all the legislative powers herein granted, shall be vested in a congress of the United States; which shall consist of a president, senate, and a house of representatives. The second section asserts, that the representatives shall be chosen every second year, and states the qualifications of electors. These extend to nearly all male citizens of full age; and it also gives the power of impeach-

ment to the house of representatives. It likewise provides for a census being taken of the population of the States every ten years. The third section provides for a senate, to be chosen by the state legislatures, and two senators to be allowed for each state. No person is to be deemed qualified to be a representative who is under twenty-five years of age, and none to be a senator under thirty years of age. That the vice president is to be chairman or president of the senate, without the power of voting, unless the numbers be equal; in that case he is to have a casting vote. The senate to have the sole power of trying impeachments. If the president of the United States should be tried, then the chief justice is to preside; but no person is to be convicted without the concurrence of two-thirds of the members present. Section the fourth compels the congress to assemble at least once in every year. Section the fifth gives each house the power to try the qualifications of its members, and to make rules and regulations for their voting, &c. Section sixth allows a compensation for their trouble in attending, and disqualifies all from being members who hold any office under the United States. By section seventh, all revenue bills are to originate in the house of representatives; but the senate may concur, or make amendments. That every bill, having passed the two houses, and obtained the approbation of the president, becomes a law; but if he disapproves,

it is then returned ; yet if two-thirds of the former majority from among the members present be in favour of such bill, it will still become a law. Section eighth gives or grants to congress the power to lay on, or to levy taxes ; but all taxes are to be uniform throughout the States. Section ninth provides that the writ of Habeas Corpus shall not be suspended, unless when, in cases of rebellion, invasion, or other unexpected or alarming commotion, the public safety may require it. By section tenth, no state shall enter into any treaty of alliance, or confederation, grant letters of marque and reprisal, coin money, emit bills of credit, or make any thing but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts ; or pass any bill of attainder ; or make any *ex post facto* law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts ; or grant any title of nobility ; or, in short, do any thing that may endanger the general union, embarrass the movements of congress, or involve the confederation in difficulties.

Article the second. The first section vests the executive power in the president, and enables him to hold his office for four years, and it defines the mode of electing the president. Section second makes or appoints him commander in chief of the army and navy, and of the militia of the several states when called into action ; and gives him power to grant reprieves and pardons, except in cases of impeachment. It gives the president power to make treaties, to appoint

ambassadors, but two-thirds of the members of the senate are to grant their concurrence. By section third, the president is to give information to congress, and to convene them on all extraordinary occasions. Section fourth states, that the president, vice-president, and all civil officers of the United States, may be removed from office on impeachment.

Article the third relates to courts of law, and the mode of trials; and orders all trials to be by jury, excepting impeachments.

Article the fourth regulates the conduct of one state relative to the public acts of another, and provides, that any person held to service or labour in one state, and fleeing to another, shall be delivered up, on proper claim being made.

Article the fifth provides, that two-thirds of a majority of congress may propose amendments of the constitution, on the application of the legislatures of two-thirds of the states.

Article the sixth declares, that no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office of trust or emolument in the United States; but that all executive and judicial officers shall be bound by oath or affirmation to preserve the constitution.

Additional articles were afterwards made; one of which was, That congress shall not make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free use or exercise thereof, or for the abridging the freedom of speech, or of the



press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances. There are several other sections, providing for the liberty of the citizen.

The following are some of the articles in the Declaration of Rights in the Constitution of the State of North Carolina:—

Article 7th declares, That in all criminal prosecutions, every man has a right to be informed of the accusation against him, and to confront the accusers and witnesses with other testimony, and that he shall not be compelled to give evidence against himself.

Article 9th states, That no freeman shall be convicted of any crime, but by the unanimous verdict of a jury.

Article 15th asserts, That the freedom of the press is one of the greatest bulwarks of liberty, and therefore ought never to be restrained.

Article 16th announces, That the people of this state ought not to be taxed, or made subject to the payment of any impost or duty, without the consent of themselves or their representatives, in general assembly freely given.

Article 17th avows, That the people have a right to assemble together, to consult for their common good, to instruct their representatives, and to apply to the legislature for a redress of grievances.

Article 20th acknowledges, That for a redress of grievances, and for amending and strengthening the laws, elections ought often to be held.

Article 21st affirms, That a frequent recurrence to fundamental principles is absolutely necessary to preserve the blessings of liberty.

The constitution of Maryland, in article the 6th, maintains, That the legislative, executive, and judicial powers, of government, ought to be for ever separate and distinct from each other. And in article 39th, That monopolies are odious, contrary to the spirit of a free government, and to the principles of commerce, and ought not to be suffered.

## CHAP. V.

## LAWS ESTABLISHED SINCE THE REVOLUTION.

THE laws of the United States are so very similar to those of Great Britain, that in most parts of the Union, the English common law is a component part of the law of the state. That great protection of personal freedom against tyrannical power, the trial by jury, is most strictly guarded and maintained; and such is the excellence of the constitution, that, to preserve the liberty of the subject from violation, the Habeas Corpus can never be suspended, unless in cases of actual invasion or rebellion.

In the disposal of property, there is no law of primogenitureship. In case a father dies intestate, all that he leaves is equally divided among his children; or, should he have no offspring, among his nearest relatives, his widow being provided for in the equity of distribution. In the laws respecting libels, truth, instead of being considered as an aggravation of guilt, forms no part of its criminality. In the days of Lord Mansfield, this gloomy doctrine was held to be law, in England; but the time we hope will return no more, when the definition of a libel shall embrace

a principle so pernicious in itself, and so detestable in its consequences.

Throughout the Union, there are few states where the punishment of death is inflicted for any crime, excepting murder. In Virginia, indeed, horse stealing, for the second offence, is punished capitally; and in New York, arson, or setting fire to a dwelling-house, is visited by the infliction of the same punishment. But the statute books are not disgraced with a catalogue of nearly seventy offences, the commission of which would subject the offender to the punishment of the gallows. The judges of Great Britain are undoubtedly men of high character; but the life of no human being should be left to the mercy of a fellow creature, unless the crime committed were one which fully warranted the dreadful punishment of death.

The history of England furnishes instances of men sitting on the bench, who have not only polluted the stream of justice, but who have been a disgrace to human nature. In the early stages of their official existence, they have felt acute sorrow in pronouncing on the culprit the sentence of the law; but from habitually seizing on the lives of offenders, their feelings become callous, till at length the terms *acquittal* and *condemnation*, are pronounced with equal indifference. It is thus that the surgeon who walks the hospital, and is accustomed to amputations, holds in cheap repute the limbs of his patients; and that the

soldier, having frequently surveyed the carcases that strew the field of battle, grows familiar with death, and loses the more amiable sensibilities of our common nature. Hence, the judge who associates, in his mind, the offender and the gallows, can scarcely persuade himself he has done his duty, unless some one is doomed to ascend the scaffold.

From the complexion and character of the inhabitants who constitute the population of the United States, it is natural to suppose, that crime would be more prevalent there than in England ; but an appeal to fact will prove that this is not the case. It is well known, that in former years felons were transported from this country to America. These wretches, carrying with them an attachment to the offences for which they suffered banishment, must have communicated a certain portion of moral pollution to the soil, the effects of which might be expected to appear in succeeding generations. Multitudes, also, have continued to emigrate thither from almost every kingdom in Europe ; among whom may be found individuals who flee to escape the pursuits of justice, for transgressions committed in their respective countries. Yet, notwithstanding these inauspicious circumstances, crime in America is disproportioned to the population, when compared with the violations of law in long established communities. Hence we cannot but infer, either that facilities or inducements to commit depredations

are less influential there, than where flagrant transgressions are more immediately connected with the gallows.

With respect to courts of law, the highest is termed the Supreme Court of the United States; the judges of which are appointed by the president, with the concurrence of the senate. They hold their situations during good behaviour, until the age of sixty: but there has never yet been an instance of improper conduct in the judges of this court; in favour of which, too much can scarcely be said. This supreme court is also a court of appeal. The salary of each judge amounts to four thousand dollars annually.

The whole Union is divided into districts, and the judges of the supreme court are appointed to preside in them. Here prosecutions by the public officers for breaches of the revenue laws, and, indeed, all cases or actions for the recovery of a certain amount, can be brought for trial, and in this court they are adjusted. But in some provinces, legal antagonists, who are both citizens of the same state, are precluded by their provincial laws from appealing beyond the state legislature.

It has sometimes occurred, that distinct states have made laws or enactments against the express law of the United States; but when cases of this kind happen, an appeal may be made to the judges of the supreme court. A case of this kind presented itself in the state of New York. The

legislature of that state passed a law, that, provided a debtor became insolvent, and that two-thirds of his creditors signed a release, such debtor should be for ever after exempted from all debts contracted previous to his insolvency. In consequence of this, many became insolvent; and two-thirds of their creditors signing a release, several again commenced business, and succeeded. Dissatisfied with their proceedings, some creditors, citizens of a different state, determined to appeal to the supreme court of the United States, to investigate the validity of this insolvent law of New York. The case was accordingly tried; and, after a fair and an impartial examination, the judges of the said supreme court declared, that the law of New York, cancelling a debt, was discrepant to the general law of contract, as particularly expressed in the constitution of the United States. This being the case, the particular law of a state could only protect the person of an insolvent debtor, but not his property. Since that period, congress have pledged themselves to pass a law to abolish imprisonment for debt altogether; stating, that they consider it a relic of the barbarous ages. At the close of this chapter I shall give some extracts from the report of the committee.

In every particular state, there are benches of law organized. These are termed the Supreme Courts of the States. In some of the larger cities there are also others termed the mayor's court. In

most of the states, there is also a court of chancery. Besides these, there are the different justices, who try petty offences, and are stationed or located at different places, for the preservation of the peace, and who commit offenders to take their trials before the higher courts.

In the state of Pennsylvania, they have not a court of chancery; but to compensate for this deficiency, they have substituted arbitration. Hence, if an action be commenced against an individual, either the plaintiff or defendant may obtain an order from the court to have the suit tried by arbitration; and if the parties cannot agree respecting whom to choose as arbitrators, the court will then appoint them.

In the equity of its proceedings, and the impartial administration of justice, the supreme court of the United States has placed itself beyond the reach of all suspicion. The same may be said of some of the state courts, as justice is administered without partiality, favour, or affection. Some of the inferior justices are, however, in point of talents, rank, and property, perfectly contemptible. In many instances, men are appointed who have not one single qualification to recommend them. Common mechanics and tradesmen, who have scarcely advanced beyond the first rudiments of education, can boast of this honourable distinction, even though they can scarcely read the laws which they ought to administer.

But this circumstance arises from the state of



population. In many country places there are but few persons of learning and talents, and these will seldom take upon them the trouble of acting as magistrates. Hence it is generally some low individual, to whom the trifling fees of office are a consideration, who solicits for and obtains the appointment. Law being very cheap, the citizens in the country places and villages are constantly in a state of litigation; the consequence is, that those pests of society, pettifogging lawyers abound, their subsistence depending upon their keeping alive the vile passions of the community. Nothing can present a more despicable scene than several of the villages of the United States exhibit, where the spectator may behold an illiterate mechanic acting as a justice, and some poor ignorant village-lawyer pleading before him. I have been present at exhibitions of this sort. At one of them, the justice was an illiterate cobbler, who could scarcely write. One lawyer was both drunk and dirty. The other was a tall thin lanky creature, with his otherwise hollow cheeks puffed out with quids of tobacco; after every sentence he spat on the floor, scraping it with his shoe: so that what with this lanky, frothy tobacco lawyer, the intoxicated pleader, and the illiterate justice, though what they term law might be liberally dispensed, but little either of justice or equity was to be expected.

I do not conceive that in the United States, a proper opinion is entertained of the sanctity of an oath by the jurymen. In the large cities, I have

no doubt the juries are equally as conscientious as any in England; but in the country places, I have heard jurymen laugh at their verdict, and assign such reasons for the same, as were disgraceful. I was informed, that during the mayoralty of De Witt Clinton, at the city of New York, a curious scene took place in the mayor's court, at which this enlightened gentleman presided. They were going to try an action for assault. A man of the name of Hantz (or something nearly resembling it) had brutally attacked a person. A friend of this Hantz was one of the jury. After they had been empannelled, this friend of the defendant turned to another jurymen near him, with this inquiry, "Who are you for?" "Who am I for!" answered the other; "it will be requisite to hear the evidence before I can answer that question." "Oh," replied the friend, "I am for Hantz." "You had better," rejoined the other, "wait until the conclusion of the trial, before you make up your mind." "No, no," says he, "I shall be for Hantz." Upon this, the other jurymen informed the mayor of the conversation, who dismissed this friend of the defendant from the jury, with every mark of ignominy; expressing his regret, that the law having never contemplated so heinous an offence, he could not punish him as he deserved.

But with all these defects, irregularities, and incongruities, I cannot conclude this chapter without expressing my doubts, whether, with the exception of Great Britain, the equitable administra-

tion of law or justice in the United States is surpassed in any part of the world. Time, which ripens the human intellect, will wipe away these diminutive stains, and call the principles of the constitution into vigorous operation.

Agreeably to my promise, I now introduce the report of the committee respecting the abolition of personal imprisonment in case of debt. This subject has long engaged the attention of legislators and senators, not only in America, but even in England. In favour of the measure, much may be urged on the ground of policy and humanity, but the evils which would follow its adoption are of too formidable a magnitude to be overlooked.

#### ON IMPRISONMENT FOR DEBT.

*“ Report of the Committee of the House of Representatives of the United States, appointed to inquire into the expediency of abolishing Imprisonment for Debt, on Process issuing from the Courts of the United States.*

“ The committee, to whom was referred the resolution directing them to inquire into the expediency of abolishing imprisonment for debt, on process issuing from the courts of the United States, Report—That the practice of imprisoning the body of a debtor, though sanctioned by very ancient usage, seems to have had its origin in an age of barbarism, and can only be considered an amelioration of that system, by which the person of

the debtor was subject to be sold. Were it not wholly repugnant to every principle of free government, incompatible with every sentiment of generous humanity, the exposure to sale of the debtor might seem more tolerable than his subjection to imprisonment. Policy and individual interest appear to be combined to justify the servitude of the debtor, in preference to his seclusion from society, and his confinement in a dreary dungeon. By the former system, the profits of the labour of the debtor, brought into the common stock, would contribute to augment the wealth of the nation, and might eventually reimburse the creditor the amount of his demand. It would certainly avoid those expenses which are annually incurred by maintaining so many unprofitable prisoners, without occupation, confined in the jails of the country. The unfortunate debtor might at least be blessed with the enjoyment of air and light, and the occasional society of family and friends, from which, by the latter, he is oftentimes most cruelly secluded, and closely immured within the walls of a prison; yet, who is there, in this liberal age, and in this country, where blessings of freedom are so extensively diffused, who would not recoil with horror and disgust from a proposition to expose to sale and servitude a fellow-citizen, whose misfortunes might subject him to the griping pressure of a hard creditor? And yet how few are there among the fortunate and successful, and even among those whom the benign precepts of our religion have taught to melt at

others' woe, who will be roused from apathy and indifference, when they daily learn that our jails are crowded with groups of these victims of misfortune! and who do not bury, in the obvious round of frivolity and pleasure, even the momentary sensibilities which such a picture may produce!

“Nor are the rulers of this happy land free from the reproach which such a stain upon our code of laws cannot fail to imprint. Year after year has elapsed, and misery upon misery has been heaped upon these victims; and yet the hand of mercy is withheld. This crying indifference to the miseries of the wretched, this cold insensibility to the distress and suffering of our fellow-creatures, has too long stained the annals of our country, and blurred with the imputation of incongruity our boast of independence, liberty, and happiness, when contrasted with our practice of imprisonment for misfortune, not for crime.

“Rescued from this thralldom, the ingenious and the active, restored to a condition for energy and enterprise, may happily find means for accumulation, to the advantage of their creditors, and the subsistence, in comfort, of their families and themselves. Nor will it fail to add one other important item to the long catalogue of blessings which spring from the fruitful source of happiness, founded in the liberal principles of free and equal government. Whilst in other governments, regulated by no such principles of equality and justice, imprisonment at the will of the despot may be enforced; whilst

one subject may prey upon another, through the instrumentality of law, and the extinction of his liberty; here let it be our boast, that none can be deprived of his liberty but by the judgment of the law, upon conviction of crime; that none can be imprisoned by his fellow-citizen for his poverty or misfortune; here let the possessions and effects of the debtor be made subject to his debts, but spare his person at least, for the solace and the comfort of his beggared and impoverished family.

“In some of the states of the Union, laws exist, whereby the unfortunate may be relieved from this confinement;—it is an example worthy of imitation by this government. Thus a singular phenomenon is presented, that a man imprisoned under one jurisdiction, in the same country, may, by one code of laws, be liberated from confinement; whilst another, confined in the same prison, under another jurisdiction, is denied this privilege, and must continue in hopeless and irremediable seclusion. To rescue the character of this commonwealth from such a stigma, is the object of the committee.

“Aware that great delicacy and difficulty are to be encountered in devising such a system as would conduce to the complete attainment of this desirable object, and at the same time combine with it the most ample security to the rights of individuals, your committee might be deterred from making the attempt, were they not encouraged by the benevolence of the object, and

strengthened by the persuasion, that any errors which may spring from the novelty of the trial, may in future be corrected by the experience which will be readily acquired in the progress of the experiment.

“ Believing that the remedy heretofore extended to the creditor, whereby he has been enabled to use this coercion for the recovery of his debts, is completely within the control of the national legislature to alter and modify as in their discretion shall seem wise; and, whilst they endeavour to exempt the person of the debtor, they supply the most unrestrained control over his effects; they have no scruples to recommend the interference of congress. Nor have your committee been unmindful of one of the happy consequences which may result from this innovation, in the limitation of that unbounded credit, which has so extensively prevailed, to the great injury, and even ruin, of many honest, but imprudent debtors. The diminution of this system, so fascinating and seductive to many, may prove a real blessing to those who so often disregard the strongest dictates of prudence and discretion.

“ Upon the whole, whilst your committee attempt to shield the unfortunate debtor from cruel and useless oppression, they propose, in the most ample and unrestrained manner, to subject all his property to the rights and interests of the creditors.

“ They therefore beg leave to report the following bill :—

*“Be it enacted, &c.* That from and after the passing of this act, imprisonment for debt, on process issuing from the courts of the United States, be, and the same is, hereby abolished; and, for the further enabling creditors to recover their just debts, *be it enacted*, that the lands, tenements, goods, chattels, rights, and credits of every debtor, shall be subject to be seized and taken, on execution, to satisfy any judgment, attachment, decree, or award of execution, rendered in any of the courts aforesaid. And the supreme court of the United States is hereby authorized and required to prescribe the necessary forms of all such process and executions, to be used in the courts aforesaid, as may be required to enable creditors to recover their just debts in every case whatever.

*“Sec. 2. And be it further enacted*, That this act shall not be construed to repeal any of the laws now existing, which enable creditors to sue for, and recover, their debts, (except so far as relates to abolishing imprisonment for debt,) but shall be construed in aid of, and for the furtherance of, the prompt recovery of all just debts and demands whatever.”



## CHAP. VI.

## REVENUE AND RESOURCES OF THE UNITED STATES.

THE revenue of the United States entirely arises from duties payable upon the importation of foreign goods and produce, and from the sale of public land. From these sources, the government is in the receipt of about eighteen millions of dollars per annum, but the annual expenditure at present does not exceed sixteen millions of dollars.

The amount of the public debt of the United States is about one hundred millions of dollars, or less than twenty-two and a half millions of pounds sterling. This, in comparison to the public debt of Great Britain, is indeed trifling, and even to the United States it cannot be said to be a debt of any consequence. Indeed, in many respects it is thought to be advantageous. Where children are left in an orphan state, it is a secure means of laying out their property at interest, the amount of which it serves to regulate throughout the country; for whatever acts or laws may be passed against usury, they will be found ineffectual. With persons in business, money will be considered as other merchandise; if it be entrusted upon doubtful

security, the lender will always endeavour to be paid according to his risk. On these and several other accounts it would be much better, in case of a surplus revenue in the United States, to expend it in the improvement of roads, erecting bridges, draining marshes, making or cutting canals, &c. than in paying off this trifling public debt. This debt of the United States has been caused by the revolutionary war, wars with the Indians, suppressing two or three insurrections, the disputes with France in 1793 and 1795, the purchase of Louisiana, and the war with Great Britain in 1812. In 1794, the total unredeemed debt was 76,096,468 dollars. In the year 1800, it amounted to 79,433,820 dollars: between the years 1790 and 1800, there had been discharged, by the operation of their sinking fund, 8,164,232 dollars, but the government had contracted fresh debts to the extent of 10,786,100 dollars, which left the debt as above stated. In 1803, their debt was reduced to 70,000,000 of dollars; but it was in that year increased by the purchase of Louisiana. In 1812, the debt was only 45,154,489 dollars: the payments in redemption by the sinking fund, from 1801 to that period, had amounted to 46,022,810 dollars. In 1812, war took place with Great Britain, which cost the United States government, before the treaty of peace, nearly seventy millions of dollars. In 1816, the debt amounted to 123,630,692, but the operation of the sinking fund has now reduced it to about one hundred millions.

The regular army of the United States consists of no more than 8000 men; and for the military and the ordnance, the expense is not more than five millions of dollars per annum. This is one of the most remarkable empires in the world; it is capable of garrisoning a coast of nearly 4000 miles, besides having garrisons in the interior of the country, with a standing army of only 8000 men! Here is a country, sixty times the extent of Ireland, and with nearly double the number of inhabitants, perfectly tranquil with this diminutive force, which has never yet been called into action to keep down a starving population! The military strength of the United States consists in its militia, amounting to 750,000 freemen, all of whom are attached to their government.

The navy of the United States is supported at an expense of a little less than two millions and a half of dollars per annum; and a great part of that sum is expended upon the building of new vessels of war. The present navy consists of eleven sail of the line, eighteen frigates, besides fifty-three sloops of war, and smaller vessels. They are now building two or three seventy-fours, besides as many frigates. To the lakes they pay particular attention; and any number of vessels the British may determine to have on them, will be met by a correspondent American force. The United States, as a naval power, is inferior only to Great Britain, although the policy of their forming a large navy may be questioned, as it may lead them into useless

and expensive wars, and involve them in difficulties which baffle all calculation. And even admitting, that in a war with Great Britain or France they might, by possessing a large navy, conquer some of the West India islands, the advantage of such a conquest would be more than doubtful. The soil and climate of part of Louisiana, and of Alabama, if cultivated for that purpose, could furnish the inhabitants of the whole Union with sugar; and it is supposed that Florida would supply them with coffee. It is therefore more than probable, that the benefits resulting from the acquisition, would not compensate for the expense with which the preservation of the islands must be attended. The expense of the whole civil, diplomatic, and other miscellaneous charges of this government, is about one million six hundred thousand dollars per annum.

The expense of maintaining the militia is but trifling; and they are supported by the state governments, and not by the general one.

The pension list of this government is not large; the money expended in this department, being chiefly to support those who served or suffered in the revolutionary war.

The members of the executive branch of government, as also the members of the senate and congress, receive pay for their services, yet these are no great burden to the country.

The president's salary is twenty-five thousand dollars, equal to about five thousand six hundred

pounds British money, per annum. The vice-president receives five thousand dollars, equal to eleven hundred and twenty-five pounds sterling; the secretary of the navy four thousand dollars, or nine hundred pounds sterling; and the chief clerk two thousand dollars, or four hundred and fifty pounds sterling per annum.

The trifling sum of sixteen millions of dollars, equal to three millions six hundred thousand pounds sterling, is sufficient to pay the interest of the debt, for the legislative, executive, and judiciary departments, and also to meet the demands of the army, navy, pensions, and all other expenses of this great and powerful republic. It is true, the different states have to support their state governments, &c. but the expense of this will not exceed more than about a sum equal to two shillings and nine-pence sterling for each inhabitant. In the state of New York, the governor has a salary of four thousand dollars per annum; but there is no other state where so large a salary is allowed to their governor; and in some it does not exceed even five hundred dollars per annum.

The mode by which the revenue of the United States is raised, being somewhat precarious, the annual amount must be subject to fluctuations; and during some years, the receipts must suffer a decrease, but this will be no proof of a real diminution of resources in the country. This decrease will arise from the greater quantity of sugar, &c. which will be produced in Louisiana, and from

The increase of the American manufactories, &c. The amount of sugar which will be cultivated, and extracted from the sugar maple tree, will at no distant period supply the whole inhabitants of the United States with that article. Florida, likewise, will probably supply them with coffee; and if this should be the case, the government will not draw any revenue from these two commodities, which at present are very productive. The cotton and woollen manufactures are, and will continue, in a progressive state of improvement, and therefore the revenue obtained from imported manufactured articles will gradually diminish. It is probable, therefore, that in some years hence, internal taxation must be resorted to; but the ease and small expense of collecting the duties upon imported articles will cause the government to adhere to the present system as long as possible.

To collect internal taxes, nearly one-quarter of all that is obtained, is expended upon remunerating or paying the tax-gatherer; whereas, in the United States, at present, where the imposts are on foreign articles, for every one hundred and five dollars collected, one hundred find their way to the treasury. In Great Britain, I believe, it requires one hundred and twenty pounds to be collected, for the treasury to be benefited one hundred. It is a remarkable fact, that the whole taxation of the general and state governments of the United States, is not at present more than what is expended for the collection of the taxes in Great

Britain, including parish and all other imposts. If, however, in the progress of events, it should occur, that the present sources of revenue should become unproductive, the Americans will still be able to resort to the same objects of taxation as yield in Great Britain such a plentiful harvest. They have dwellings, lights, carriages, distilleries, legacies, &c. by which articles they may raise any revenue their occasions may require. The finances are at present in a flourishing condition, there being always a sum due to the government, more than equal to the annual expenditure; this arises from the amount due for duties upon imported articles, and for claims upon the purchasers of land. At the present, there is owing to the government by the merchants, for duties thus specified, about seventeen millions of dollars; and for purchases of land, about ten millions more. Hence it is obvious, that the government could immediately liquidate the whole of the public debt, if they were desirous of so doing.

The resources which could be drawn from an active, vigorous, and enterprising population of ten millions of inhabitants, possessing a fixed property of more than four thousand millions of dollars, and a personal property of about two millions and a half more, can scarcely be estimated. Besides this property possessed by individuals, government, and the different states, possess millions of acres of land; the whole of which property is continually increasing in value. Jefferson calculates that twenty years

doubles the value. He ascribes it to the natural increase of slaves, and the rapid extension of culture, &c.; but there is another cause, which he has not mentioned, and which has a considerable effect in enhancing the value of property in the United States; this is, the influx of emigrants; for these are now no longer confined to that class of persons who took only their hands to labour, but many wealthy individuals with families now resort to the United States. The increasing or fluctuating resources of this country is a subject upon which a writer can expatiate with real pleasure, especially when he is assured, that the revenue raised, instead of being wasted in prodigality, is employed to promote the security and happiness of the people.

Their army is well organized, and discipline is strictly maintained. The same may be said of the American navy. Their vessels of war are larger, and in weight of metal heavier, than the British of the same reputed force. An American seventy-four is equal to a British ninety-eight-gun ship. Their frigates are much larger than the British. All their vessels are kept uncommonly clean, and every thing is in the most exact order; and to render both officers and men expert, they are continually firing at marks. Besides their vessels of war, there is a large steam-ship, or floating steam-battery, at New York, the deck of which is fully as large as that of a seventy-four, and it is considered so strong that no shot would injure it.



## CHAPTER VII.

## ADVICE TO EMIGRANTS.

THE torrent of emigration from Europe has for nearly forty years run in an unexampled manner towards the United States of North America. This infant and rising empire has received and nourished a part of the inhabitants of every country in the old world. The tide of emigration at present in a great measure has ceased to flow; but vast numbers yet fixing their longing eyes upon this "land of promise," have resolved at all hazards to go and reside in this transatlantic hemisphere. Before any persons determine to emigrate, they ought seriously to reflect upon the measure. To leave country, friends, and relations, and fix their residence in a distant land, where the habits and the feelings of the people are so different, where there are none to rejoice in their prosperity, and where the voice of sympathy or condolence will not be heard in their afflictions, are circumstances which should be sufficient to cause every one duly to weigh the advantages or disadvantages of removal. When to this are added, the extremes of the climate of the United States, which are so disagreeable to Englishmen;—the

expense and trouble of a voyage across the Atlantic;—and the risk of not succeeding in America: these, and many more reasons, demand a pause from all, before they take such an important step as to remove a family to this distant region.

Those who are in affluence in England, living upon the income or interest of their property, ought by no means to entertain the idea of emigrating thither. In the large cities of the United States, the expense of maintaining and educating a family will be little less than in Great Britain. Although there are no internal taxes to the general government, and the taxes to the state government will not exceed one-sixteenth of the rental of the dwelling; and although butcher's-meat, fish, vegetables, wine, spirituous liquors, &c. are cheaper than in England; yet house rent, fuel, servants' wages, and clothing, will nearly make up the difference. In the small towns and villages of that country, a family can be supported at one-third less expense than in the large cities; but a family residing in some villages in England, living in a careful and frugal manner, would be much more comfortable than they possibly could be in the United States, and the expense would not be much greater. That degree of freedom which the servants and lower orders assume in America, is really disagreeable to those who have not been accustomed to it. We may speak in favour of equality; but the fact is, that nearly all who advocate this doctrine "wish to reduce every one

to the equality of themselves ; but they by no means wish to raise those who are below or beneath them to their own level."

Another description of persons will find great difficulty in succeeding ; these are, schoolmasters, clerks, attorneys, &c. Education being very easily attained in the Eastern New England States, there are always many Americans of these descriptions wanting employment.

Another class of individuals ought to be very cautious before they embark for the United States ; these are weavers, cotton-spinners, and working manufacturers. The manufactures of America are yet in their infancy, and those workmen who can procure employment obtain good wages ; but I have met with many, who, having travelled in vain from Massachusetts to Maryland, and from thence to the Western Country, in quest of employment, have expended what little they had saved in Britain, and have actually experienced great distress ; not having been accustomed to agricultural work, they were wholly unfit for it : unless this description of persons can obtain a certain or positive engagement, I would by no means advise them to emigrate.

The lower class of labourers will obtain employment during the harvest months ; but in winter it will be difficult to find work. In New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore, during the winter, the labourers are often reduced to great wretchedness : fuel is frequently enormously high ; and those who

have been in a country where the thermometer is sometimes several degrees below zero, or the freezing point, will be able to form an opinion of the sufferings of a family without fire, and with but little clothing.

Merchants, tradesmen, shopkeepers, and manufacturers, might probably succeed, and I refer to the chapter upon Commerce and Manufactures for the ground of my opinion; yet even in these departments there is a great risk for strangers, as they have to seek for connections, and to become acquainted with the mode of transacting business; and perhaps by the time they have acquired such knowledge, and obtained such connections, their resources are exhausted.

For the wealthy farmer, I do not believe that at present there are any inducements to emigrate, the price of all agricultural productions being so low. But the small farmer, who has resided near a town, who has a family, and has been accustomed to raise poultry and vegetables, and who understands well the management of milch cows, might succeed near any of the large cities in the United States; but such an one ought to take about five hundred pounds with him, to enable him to purchase and stock a small farm.

Industrious labouring mechanics, tailors, shoemakers, joiners, blacksmiths, &c. will find employment throughout the Union. I would, however, advise them, upon landing at the large sea-port towns or cities, not to remain there expending what

little money they possess, but to leave immediately for some small town or village. If they land at New York, in the western part of that state, they are as likely to meet with employment as in any part of the United States. If they should arrive at New Orleans in November or December, they might remain there until June or July, and it is probable they will obtain work at high wages, about two dollars per day; and the females, by sewing or washing, may make nearly as much. Whoever goes thither should not remain there during the sickly months. By means of the numerous steamboats, they can go to a more healthy situation, and fix upon some place as a permanent settlement.

I have met with some mechanics, who have been much dissatisfied, and have deplored the circumstance of their quitting England; others, on the contrary, have expressed themselves in a different manner. One blacksmith, in a small town in one of the Eastern States, informed me, that by working only four hours in the day, he could maintain himself and family very comfortably. A tailor, in a town in New Jersey, with whom I had a conversation relative to his returning to England, spoke as follows: "I should indeed be foolish to think of returning. Here I can obtain work at a price at least one-third higher than in England; there it was with great difficulty I could get employment. Certainly, the climate and many other things are disagreeable, but that corroding anxiety of not knowing whether I could maintain myself, is

removed; and this more than recompenses me for coming hither." This man had endured great distress in England; but in the United States, he, with five females, whom he kept at work, (young ladies, as they are there called,) had full employment.

In New York, on the contrary, I have met with some mechanics, who stated, that the high price of fuel and house-rent made their situation no better with the wages of one dollar and a half per day, than what it was in England. For two comfortable rooms, in the large cities or towns, the rent would be nearly fifteen pounds English money per annum. When good Liverpool coals are sold in the city of New York at thirteen dollars the chaldron, it is considered as cheap a fuel as can be there consumed. This will give a tolerably accurate idea of the expense of fuel in the larger cities.

Mr. Birkbeck, in his letters from Illinois, has given a highly flattering description of the Western Country. He has published several statements, to prove the advantage of working a farm there. In these calculations, he has valued Indian corn or maize, which is the chief product there, at five dollars the barrel: but what has been the price in 1821? not even one-half, and consequently all his calculations are of no account. Indian corn, and also wheat, sold at New Orleans in the spring of 1821, at the low price of 25 cents, or 12½d. English, the Winchester bushel.

Those who had distilled it into whiskey were not benefited ; for whiskey was then disposed of at from 16 to 20 cents, or equal to from  $8\frac{1}{2}d.$  to  $11d.$  English, the gallon ; the strength was what would be termed, in England, 30 per cent. below proof. Some of the farmers in the Western States, in the year 1820 and 1821, did not conceive corn of sufficient value to reap it ; they therefore had permitted their cattle to go into the fields, and feed upon it there.

To give some idea of the disadvantages which the Western Country at present holds out for farming, I will mention an instance of a person, an Irishman, who went from New York to the State of Indiana. By dint of labour and care this person had previously saved at New York about six thousand dollars. His wife and his wife's sister (for he had no children) accompanied him to Indiana ; there he purchased a quantity of land, for which he paid nearly three thousand dollars. Agricultural implements, fencing or railing, seed, buildings, furniture, and expense of living, in two years completely exhausted the remaining three thousand dollars. The product sold for a mere trifle. He brought it to New Orleans in a flat-bottomed boat, which cost one hundred and twenty dollars ; and when he arrived there, he disposed of his Indian corn at a quarter of a dollar a bushel ; his pork he sold at about equal to one penny English, the pound ; and for his boat he was glad to get ten dollars. I will leave any one to

judge what sum he had left. Provoked at his bad success, he determined to give up his farming pursuits, and open a shop or store at New Orleans, which he soon accomplished. On his farming expedition, his remarks were—"I have now been for two years working like a horse; I have 1280 acres of land, a house, barns, &c. upon all which I have expended 6000 dollars: were I to offer it for sale at present, and insist upon cash, I could not obtain one thousand dollars for the whole." He added, that during the last year, he had seldom a dollar in his pocket; for he had nothing to offer for sale, but articles with which all his neighbours were already overstocked. His wife also was continually complaining of being buried in a wilderness.

A person, a few years ago arrived at New Orleans, and obtained goods on credit, which he took to St. Louis: there he purchased a tract of land; but his creditors compelled him to give them the greater part; however, he contrived to retain above one thousand acres. At New Orleans, he was taken ill in the month of May, 1821; he then offered his land as security for the loan of only a few hundred dollars; but no one would lend upon the property: he died without a dollar in his pocket, and was buried at the expense of the city.

In one of the Southern States, I met with a gentleman who had inherited a tract of land in one of the Western provinces. He described it



as being of good quality; at one time, when he was absent from the country, the whole was sold for about one hundred dollars, to pay the state taxes; upon his return, he paid the purchaser the amount he gave, with 10 per cent. interest, agreeably to the law, and recovered his land. He was again absent, and again the land was sold for the state taxes: he then endeavoured to dispose of it, but could not find a purchaser; he therefore was satisfied to let the person who bought it at the second sale retain it. I was acquainted with several who were possessed of large tracts of land, who could not command one hundred dollars. I mention this circumstance, in order that emigrants may be cautious before they purchase land in the United States.

But notwithstanding these disasters, many persons have succeeded in the state of Alabama, and in all the Western States, in an astonishing manner. A poor industrious family, that have the means of purchasing or contracting for 160 acres of land, (and for this purpose a very few dollars are sufficient,) may go into the woods, and begin their work. If there be any neighbours, these will come and assist them to erect a log house, which they accomplish in the following very simple manner:— Having selected some trees of a proper size, they are cut down, and divided into suitable lengths. About a yard from each end of these logs they cut holes or grooves, through which they introduce another tree, that had been previously

prepared for the purpose. This rough frame-work is then fastened, by large wooden pins or wedges, in such a manner that the end of one side rests alternately on that of the other. The interstices are then filled up with clay or earth, unless it be in a situation where lime can be procured, which under these circumstances is always preferred. In the erection of these houses, the experienced hands will proceed with considerable expedition. A single man can cut down from twenty to twenty-four trees in a day, and prepare them for use. Hence, five or six men will erect a comfortable log-house in four or five days.

In addition to this assistance in building, it is not improbable that their friendly neighbours will furnish the new family with some part of their live stock. One will give poultry, another a hog, and a third a calf, for each of which the woods will furnish an ample supply of food. For the calf there is wild grass, and a sort of cane, while the hog will find no want of nuts and acorns, and the fowls will partially draw their sustenance from the log-house. From these sources the family will soon be able to obtain eggs, pork, and milk; while, on all occasions, deer, wild turkey, and other game, can easily be obtained, and, in some situations, an abundance of fish. Hence it is evident, that there is no danger of actual want.

To procure clothing, the female part of the family must spin; and the male part, by clearing the land, will soon produce corn, vegetables, &c.

From such slender beginnings as these, only a few years since, many families are now in comfortable circumstances, every year adding a number of acres to their farms.

It is obvious, however, that whilst produce is so low, they must look only for a maintenance. Nor must it be forgotten, that such a situation is very unhealthy: fever and ague, and various bilious complaints, are common, in consequence of their habitations being surrounded by putrifying vegetable matter. Hence, I think, there are very few in England, in comfortable circumstances, who will envy this sort of life.

To farmers who are positively determined to emigrate to the United States, and who are possessed of property, I certainly would recommend some of the older states, in order that they may obtain a tolerably good price for their produce. Let them, however, bear in mind, that if they have farms of good land, where all around is equally good, produce, like every thing which is plentiful, must be sold low. If they go to a back settlement, the female part of the family will be dissatisfied, and there certainly will not be much domestic comfort when that is the case. In the course of my observations in America, I have found that almost one half of the emigrant families were thus circumstanced. The climate, the inhabitants, and other causes, have led to this dissatisfaction.

I once met, in a small country town, with a

gentleman from Birmingham; he was one who had been an ultra-radical, and who viewed all the rulers in his native country as a set of tyrants. It was on a Sunday, when Fahrenheit's thermometer in the shade was as high as 96, and not a breath of air was stirring. The heat at this time was so oppressive, that the Birmingham gentleman began to weep; observing, "that the tyrants of rulers in his own country could be more easily borne than such tyrannical weather."

The English farmer and mechanic find themselves very differently situated in the United States to what they were in England. In the taverns they meet with totally different persons from those with whom they associated in their native country. I once was present when an Englishman at a tavern was endeavouring to amuse the company by singing. He held a glass of Yankee rum-and-water in his hand, and was singing "Dear Tom, this brown jug,—which now foams with mild ale." When he had concluded, an American, in a dry and quaint manner, said, "I guess you like rum better than beer." This revived John Bull's feelings. He recollected the praise which he had received in his own country for this song, and the good ale he had drunk there. Under highly irritated feelings, he rose, cursing the whiskey, the apple brandy, the Yankee rum, and the sour ale, and the whole country. Such circumstances as these are, and ever will remain, constant subjects of irritation. The Englishman, after meeting with

such incidents, returns to his family, venting his spleen against the climate, the people, the country, in short, against every thing American. If he have any females, it is probable their feelings will be in unison; and thus they will be discontented, until by marriages amongst the natives, and the lapse of time, they forget Great Britain.

The man of education, likewise, will feel his situation uncomfortable, if he reside in a back settlement. There will be none with whom to associate, and his remarks will often be laughed at. His only resource will be books; these are agreeable companions; and it is often delightful for a literary character to indulge, alone, in reading and meditation; but if there be none to whom he can communicate the knowledge he has acquired from books, and the speculations in which he has indulged, he will lose the zest or relish for scientific pursuits.

There is another cause which renders the United States disagreeable; this is, the innumerable quantity of gnats, flies, and moschetoës. The moscheto is a little venomous insect, the bite of which produces in some persons inflammation, and even a festering. There are also myriads of little sand-flies in some of the Southern States, which are extremely tormenting. In the swamps, there is a large fly with a green head, which flies with great rapidity and force; and from whatever animal it fastens on, it draws a quantity of blood. In some of the Western States, horses have been destroyed by

these flies in twenty-four hours. There is also a black spider, from the bite of which I have witnessed very dangerous wounds.

Upon the arrival of an emigrant in the United States, if he intend to become a citizen of the republic, it is necessary he should declare his intention five years previously to his admission. The first step for this purpose is, to have his name entered at the proper office. At or before the expiration of two years from such entry, he must take an oath, renouncing allegiance to all sovereigns, &c.; and after the lapse of five years from his arrival, he must take an oath to support the government of the United States: this being done, he becomes a citizen.

An emigrant cannot be too much on his guard before he involves his property by purchasing land. For one person who wishes to buy land in the United States, there are a thousand who are desirous to sell. In all the large sea-port cities, there are societies, whose object is to give information to emigrants: application may be made to one or more of these societies; but especially let the speculatist apply to some respectable individual for information. Let no one purchase any land without examining it; and, if possible, let him get the advice of some good practical farmer, who has long cultivated land in the neighbourhood of the spot he thinks of purchasing: the opinion of such an one would be of great benefit. I would also caution every person against purchasing a farm, unless it

had a never-failing brook or stream of water in, or running through, the land : for in a country like the United States, where the dry weather in summer continues so long, it is of great importance to have a supply of water for the cattle, &c.

Birkbeck advises new comers to "head the tide of emigration," that is, to go far west to some of the new states. I by no means give that advice. There are many farms in the old-settled states, well situated, with good houses, barns, and a quantity of cleared land, which, although it may not be very productive in its present condition, with labour and manure might be easily restored: much less labour would also be required than to clear forest land, for which work Europeans are by no means calculated. The Yankees, or people from the Eastern States, will clear as much in one day as an European in three.

Some of the Americans are of a very roving disposition, moving from the Eastern States to the Ohio; there they purchase farms, and erect houses, and barns, clear a quantity of land, and plant peach and apple orchards. If a purchaser offers, they will dispose of this, and move to some other state, and do the same; and thus they will continue to move until they are obstructed by the shores of the Pacific Ocean. It is better for an European to give ten or fifteen dollars an acre for land, where there is a house and other buildings erected, and a quantity of cleared land, than to give half a dollar an acre for forest land, where he

would have to erect a log-house, &c. to cut down trees, make fences, and encounter all other difficulties, which would require years of hard labour to overcome.

I would likewise advise all emigrants in the United States, to appear to be content, when they are travelling in the country, especially at the inns. Let them ask for what they want, as if a favour were to be granted, and by no means use any word to the waiters which implies their inferiority; this must be particularly attended to, if the attendant be a white person. Many who have acted otherwise have been insulted. At several of these country inns, the landlord is a man of the first consequence in the place,—a major, or colonel of militia, or a justice, whom they term a 'squire; and frequently the daughters of the landlord attend upon the visitors.

I would advise all radicals, or those who have left England from being discontented with the government, not to utter their complaints to the Americans; they may hear with patience, but that is the utmost which can be expected. I was once present when a shoemaker was in company, who had only arrived two days previously in America. Crispin, by his own account, had been a radical; and, no doubt, he thought, that to repair what he considered worn-out constitutions, would be as easy a task as to mend old shoes. He had attended the radical meetings in his native land, for the purpose of benefiting the country by his sage



councils, and had not been backward in attempting to make converts in the village to the radical opinions. The parson of the parish, and the church-wardens, being perfectly satisfied with the constitution as it existed both in church and state, admonished Crispin, telling him to mind his work, and let others more fit, mind state affairs; but he spurned at the advice: and what was the consequence? The parson and church-wardens sent for another shoemaker; and as there was not a sufficient number of radicals in the parish to support the former, he determined to sail to the land of freedom. The man was more than half an hour telling his woe-ful tale; but instead of commiseration from the company, one of them, a Yankee, said, "It was a good job for the other cobbler." When any radicals arrive in the United States, I would advise them to say nothing relative to their opinions or complaints: if they address themselves to some of the Americans, they think there is little cause for complaint; if to others, they fear it is some new candidate for office,—and to the number of place-hunters there certainly wants no addition.

Some persons, when they arrive in America, pretend to despise every thing there; fish, vegetables, beef, poultry, &c. nothing is fit to eat. This is certainly ridiculous; their vegetables are fully equal to those of England, and of fish they have abundance, some of which are equally excellent. Shad, in season, is a fish sufficiently rich

to satisfy any epicure and at all seasons they have plenty that are fine and well flavoured. Mutton and veal are inferior to these articles in England; but pork, hams, poultry, and beef, are equal. With respect to fruit, the peach and the apple are superior to what we have in England, besides a variety of sorts of melon, which are extremely pleasant in the heat of summer.

Those who intend to emigrate to the Western States may embark for either New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, or New Orleans. For those who arrive at the former cities, there will be about three hundred miles of land-travelling to Pittsburg. If there be a family, the best mode will be to purchase a covered waggon, which will cost 40 to 60 dollars, and take a few common cooking utensils with them: the horse will cost rather more than the waggon. Upon the road they will be able to purchase poultry &c. It will take nearly 20 days travelling, with a waggon and one horse, to arrive at Pittsburg, where the waggon and horse may be sold.

If there be only one or two persons, the best and cheapest mode will be to take the stage from Philadelphia, &c. Arrived at Pittsburg, the family or party must either purchase a skiff to descend the Ohio, or it is probable they may be able to agree with some person with a keel boat, to transport them to the place they design next to visit. A skiff would cost from six to eight dollars.

If a family arrive at New Orleans, I would

advise them immediately to engage a passage in some of the steam-boats; and although they may not be able immediately to leave the city, yet they will be comfortably accommodated with board and lodging, and also have elegant apartments on board these boats. The expense of going to the Western Country by this mode will be a little increased, but it certainly will be more pleasant than land travelling. For those who are satisfied to go as deck passengers in these steam-boats, the amount will be very trifling.

I should suppose there are very few English persons who would wish to fix their abode either in a slave-holding state, or in the more northern states, where they would have five months' winter. The Southern States, as a permanent residence, even if slavery were not admitted, are not without their evils; the heat and insalubrity of the climate being sufficient to deter any European from fixing there. In New York, and one or two other states, a foreigner cannot hold land; therefore, if these be fixed upon, the emigrant must purchase in some other name, or obtain an act of the state legislature; which, however, would not be attended with any great expense.

The tide of emigration, at present, is to Alabama, Illinois, Indiana, Missouri, and Florida, all of which, excepting Illinois and Indiana, admit of slavery; therefore, if an emigrant abandon the old states, either these or Ohio are likely to be selected. I have already given my opinion, that

a farm with some cleared land, and a house and barn already erected, would be most advisable for an European, and this can be obtained in any state of the Union. If the emigrant should determine otherwise, perhaps prairie, or open land, would be better than wood land; but in this case, the prairie land should be near a wood, and a certain number of acres of wood land should be included in the purchase, in order that the farmer may have fire-wood and fencing, and be able to build a house, barn, &c. A log-cabin would not cost more than from forty to fifty dollars; a log-barn, with convenience for horses, cattle, &c. about one hundred dollars. A frame-house will cost from four to five hundred dollars.

The cultivating of wood land is tedious: the first year is consumed in erecting a log-house, in girdling a number of the trees, which consists in the taking off a circle of the bark, to destroy vegetation, and admit light and heat to the soil; in grubbing or taking up the small trees or shrubs; then ploughing (or harrowing, if it won't admit of the plough,) and sowing for a slight crop. Many of the forests, however, in America are entirely free from underwood.

Some persons cut down the trees at first, and thus clear the land. The mode which must be pursued will entirely depend upon the number or strength of hands the settler has to do his work. The trees are generally cut about three feet from the ground. In the Eastern States, they are after-

wards ten years before they completely decay; in the Middle, Western, and Southern, only eight years. For the first two or three years after they are cut down, they require constant attention, to cut the young shoots or branches which are springing up. It is impossible to get up the roots of the trees, unless at an expense totally disproportionate to the benefit. When a number of trees are cut down, a fence is made; this is generally done by laying the trees, about five or six in height, in a zig-zag manner, or something like the form of the letter V or W. In all the Eastern States there is a great quantity of stony land; they may frequently make fences of part, but some are too large to be removed; in this case, a hole is dug, and the stone covered with earth; this of course is only in an old-settled farm.

Birkbeck advises the taking over workmen. If you should do so, and go to the back settlements, you must fix upon such as you are willing to associate with; for both male and female servants, or, as they are there called, "helps," must eat and drink with the family, in the country places of the United States.

A gentleman of my acquaintance took with him, on his journey to the Western Country, a servant-man who had long attended upon him in England. Two days after he had left Philadelphia, his boots were not cleaned. The master asked the reason: the answer was, "It was negroes' work to clean boots." This was obliged to be passed over.

Dinner-time arrived; when, instead of John placing himself behind his master's chair, he took a chair, and seated himself at table beside him. The master was angry; but John told him he was in a land of liberty and equality,—and the master was obliged to submit.

New settlers should engage workmen in America; for the Americans, being more accustomed to the work they want to have performed, will be much better than Europeans. The price of workmen or labourers in the Western Country, is one dollar per day; but some persons agree to give the value of labour in wheat or Indian corn. Provisions are now very cheap throughout the whole of the Western States. Flour, 2½ to 3 dollars a barrel; beef, veal, mutton, and pork, 1d. to 3d. per lb.; fowls, 4d. to 6d. a piece; ducks, 6d. to 9d.; a goose, 1s. 6d. to 2s. 3d.; turkeys, 1s. 6d. to 2s. Groceries are much higher than at New York,—about one-third more. This is the case with all sorts of woollen, linen, and cotton goods. Horses and cattle are also cheap in the Western Country. A good cow may be bought for ten or twelve dollars, and a hog for two to three dollars. Horses differ so much according to age or appearance, that it is difficult to state the price; but a horse fit for farming work may be bought for about forty dollars.

In fixing upon a place, if it be wood land you intend to clear, it is considered that the best soil produces in general trees of the following sorts;

locust, cherry, walnut, elm, sugar maple, beech, ash, satin-wood and papau :—middle-rate lands; oaks, hiccory, dog-wood, and beech :—indifferent soil; black and red oaks, green, &c. :—the worst lands; black-jack oak, fir or pines, &c.

Those who determine to go to the Western States should take pins, needles, sewing-cotton, and all those small useful articles in a family, for perhaps they may be situated ten or twenty miles from a store, or shop. They should also take care to have a small chest of useful and common medicines. If they could make choice of a place where a few of their own countrymen had settled, it would be found particularly pleasant. These will be more willing to communicate their knowledge, and be ready to assist; they will also render those little attentions which are found peculiarly agreeable. I can assure the emigrant, that his reception amongst the native Americans will not be very flattering.

Before I conclude this chapter, let me advise all emigrants to beware lest they become drunkards in the United States. In the heat of summer, it is absolutely necessary to drink plentifully; and water alone is injurious. Spirits are cheap: hence persons accustom themselves to drink spirits; and before they are aware, they have inbibed the dreadful and deadly habit of drinking spirits to excess.

The calculations formed, and the estimates given, in the preceding chapter, were made just

prior to the month of May, in the year 1821, when the author quitted the United States. Since that period, the prices of nearly all sorts of agricultural produce have advanced from 20 to 30 per cent. on which account there is much greater encouragement to settlers than formerly.



## CHAP. VIII.

## PRICE OF LAND,—POPULATION, &amp;c.

THERE is always a great quantity of land on sale in the United States, belonging to the government, at the fixed price of one dollar and a half per acre. Formerly it was sold on credit, at two dollars per acre; one-fourth to be paid at the time of contracting for it, and the remainder in equal annual instalments, at the end of one, two, three, four, and the last in five years. Within the last and previous year, in consequence of flour and other articles having sold so low, farmers who had purchased land, and cultivated a part, under an idea that the sale of the product would enable them to fulfil their engagements with the government, have been disappointed. Land speculators also have been unable to procure purchasers; and the government has been obliged to take back many thousand acres of land, for which farmers and speculators had contracted. At present, land can be purchased at less than the government price, although that appears so trifling. Some having purchased, who are now unable to pay their instalments, would gladly dispose of a part, in order that they may be able to retain the remainder. Others have bought

land, and settled upon it; but not finding agricultural pursuits to answer their expectations, they would willingly sell it for less than they have contracted to pay. The foregoing remarks apply to the back settlements, and chiefly to the Western Country.

There are, likewise, sales of land constantly taking place for the state taxes; but the purchaser must take the risk of the former owner re-paying the amount of the purchase with 10 per cent. interest. If he should do so within two years after the sale by the state government, he can obtain the restoration; if not, the title is gone to the purchaser at such sale. In many instances, very valuable tracts of land have been obtained in this manner for a mere trifle.

During, and after the revolution, there were many of what are termed Squatters; that is, persons who took possession of land without any right or title: others having discovered this circumstance, and purchasing the right from the real owners, who perhaps did not know they possessed the property, have thus obtained very valuable tracts of land for a tenth of its worth. When the American revolution broke out, many English families returned to Great Britain; and supposing their land of little or no value, they never concerned themselves about it. But in the course of time, considerable tracts became valuable from being situated near an increasing town, and also, perhaps, from the labour of squatters, who had taken possession and cleared it. Under these

circumstances, persons have bought the right or title from the descendants of the British, and have acquired a valuable property.

With respect to the price of land, it is difficult to say what that is, in a country so extensive and diversified as the United States. For the land in the possession of government, the price is fixed; but for what private individuals possess, the price depends upon various incidents. The contiguity to a market; and whether there are good and never-failing streams through the land; and, if not near a large town, whether it is close to a navigable stream; and whether it is a good soil,—are circumstances that have considerable influence. At a convenient distance from some of the large cities, well-timbered land sells at from 60 to 100 dollars per acre: cleared land, from 40 to 60 dollars per acre. I am now speaking of all the states but the southern ones.

In the Southern States, where cotton and rice are produced, the price of land, or plantations, fluctuates with the price of the article. In these states, plantations may be purchased to produce 15 per cent. interest to the purchaser, if well managed. The same may be said of sugar plantations; these may be purchased to pay 25 per cent. interest, near New Orleans. The mode of disposing of these plantations is, by requiring an immediate payment of about one-fourth of the price contracted for, and the remainder to be paid in equal annual instalments, at one, two, three, or four years, the seller

having a mortgage on the property and stock, until the whole amount is paid. In some instances, persons have purchased plantations on these terms, and have cleared a sum equal to the amount of the purchase, long before the last instalment was due. The slaves, buildings, stock, every thing on the plantation, is sold together with the land.

In the old-settled states of New York, Pennsylvania, &c. uncleared land, in good situations, in the interior of the state, is sold at from 5 to 15 dollars per acre. A farm of about 320 acres, with from 150 to 170 acres of land tolerably well cleared, having a comfortable farm-house, with barns, orchard, &c. being in a situation not far from some navigable stream, in the interior of these old states, could be purchased at from 20 to 35 dollars per acre. In the state of Ohio, a similar farm could be bought for little more than half that sum. In the state of Indiana or Illinois, and places where there are but few settlers, the value of land or farms decreases considerably. In large cities and towns, the price of land depends upon the situation; but it is fully as high as it would be in a large town of Great Britain.

Thus, in New York, Philadelphia, Boston, or Baltimore, the value of building lots is fully as high as it is in Liverpool, Glasgow, &c.; but if we travel about a mile from an American city, the value rapidly decreases; when at two miles, it would not sell for one-quarter as much as land would produce situated within the same distance of a large town in

**Great Britain.** With the Americans, it is not usual to erect villas adjacent to their cities; near to the city of Baltimore, however, there are several.

The rapid increase of the value of landed property has never been so much observed any where as in the United States. In 1681, Penn, with about 2000 Europeans formed a settlement in Pennsylvania. He was indebted to one of his servants about 45*l.* for which he offered him a quantity of land in Philadelphia: that land is now worth above a million sterling. In 1761, a Mr. Farley purchased 33,000 acres of land in North Carolina, for which he paid one thousand guineas; and in the year 1772, he refused an offer of 28,000*l.* sterling, for the same land. In 1784, some military lots in the State of New York, of 320 acres of land, were sold, the whole for ten dollars: at the present period, the same could be disposed of at more than two thousand dollars. In 1787, the State of New York, sold at public auction, many thousand acres of land on the Susquehannah river, below Chenango, which fetched about 4½*d.* English, the acre: it is now worth from 5 to 10 dollars per acre, uncleared. Dr. Flin says, he knew many instances, where persons have bought one hundred acres of land for 10*l.*, which they afterwards sold, without any improvement, for 3*l.* sterling an acre. In 1806, in the parish of Rapides, State of Louisiana, land was purchased at half a dollar an acre, which has since been sold, 800 acres in a lot, at twenty-eight dollars an acre.

In order to settle Kentucky, the assembly of Virginia offered 400 acres of land to every person who engaged to build a cabin, clear a piece of land, and produce a crop of Indian corn. After the revolutionary war, even farther encouragements were offered, and one thousand acres more were given, adjoining their former settlements of 400 acres, the settlers merely paying the fees of the land-office. In the year 1788, the congress ordered a valuation of all the lands composing the then sixteen States of the Union; the number in the whole of the (then) States, amounted to 163,746,686 acres, valued at that time at 479,293,263 dollars, or 2 dollars 92 cents per acre. The land of Virginia was only valued at 1 dollar 48 cents per acre; whilst that of Pennsylvania was 6 dollars and 9 cents per acre. This difference in some measure arises from the greater proportionate population of one state to the other, as well as from the difference in the value of the land.

The reason why congress ordered this valuation of the land was, to apportion a direct tax which was then levied on the citizens. The following is a statement of the value of the land in each of the then States:—

	<i>Dollars.</i>
New Hampshire .....	77,705
Massachusetts .....	260,435
Rhode Island .....	37,504
Connecticut .....	129,767
Vermont .....	46,864

	<i>Dollars.</i>
New York .....	181,681
New Jersey .....	98,387
Pennsylvania .....	237,178
Delaware .....	30,430
Maryland .....	152,600
Virginia .....	345,488
Kentucky .....	37,643
North Carolina .....	193,698
South Carolina .....	112,997
Georgia .....	38,815
Tennessee .....	18,807

In the year 1813, another direct tax was imposed, and the following valuations were then returned; by which we may observe, that the great increase in the value of land in the States of New York, Vermont, Kentucky, Tennessee, and the young state of Ohio, manifests its importance:—

	<i>Dollars.</i>
New Hampshire .....	96,793
Massachusetts .....	316,271
Rhode Island .....	34,750
Connecticut .....	118,168
Vermont .....	98,344
New York .....	430,142
New Jersey .....	108,872
Pennsylvania .....	365,479
Delaware .....	32,047
Maryland .....	151,624
Virginia .....	369,018

	<i>Dollars.</i>
Kentucky.....	168,929
Ohio.....	103,151
North Carolina.....	220,238
South Carolina.....	151,906
Tennessee.....	110,087
Georgia.....	94,937
Louisiana.....	28,925

The United States may yet be said to be almost without inhabitants; when we consider that a population of little more than ten millions is scattered over a country of two and a half millions of square miles. There are yet millions of acres, on which it is probable the human foot has never trod. "In the time of Cæsar, Strabo, and Tacitus, France, Germany, Switzerland, Holland, and England, were immense forests: a few scattered inhabitants, whose houses were made of hurdles and planks; were the only proof that these countries were not wholly destitute of human inhabitants." The interior of the United States presents at this time a similar prospect; but the increase of population would be beyond all reasonable belief, were it not that we had irrefragable documents to prove the fact. In 1700, there was a population of no more than 270,000 human beings. At the present time, when little more than a century has elapsed, there are nearly ten millions; the population has therefore doubled in the ratio of about every twenty-three years since that period.



Indeed, if we suppose that there are now 850 millions of human beings on the earth, and that all these owe their origin to eight persons saved in the ark, at the time of the flood; as it is now 4163 years since that event is recorded to have happened, it has therefore acquired the ratio of every 160 years for the doubling of the population. The surface of the globe is 197 millions of square miles, but the habitable part will not exceed 40 millions, the residue being covered by water, by rocks, or by sandy deserts. Admitting this population of 850 millions, Europe, in an extent of 3,300,000 square miles, has a population of about 63 inhabitants to a square mile, allowing a population of 210 millions to this part of the globe. Asia, including New Holland and Siberia, which are almost a desert, would contain, in an extent of 16 millions of square miles, 34 to a square mile, having 535 millions of inhabitants. Africa, about 11 millions of square miles, with a population of 75 millions, contains nearly seven to a square mile. America, containing 14 millions of habitable square miles, with a population of 30 millions, is a little more than two to a square mile. Great Britain, including Ireland, has a population of 200 inhabitants to a square mile, as it contains 105,634 square miles, and at least one-third of these islands is waste land; whilst the United States has a population of only four to a square mile, and the greatest population of any one state in the Union will not be more than 80 to a square mile.

Although Great Britain and Ireland contain 200 inhabitants to a square mile, yet there is little doubt that the soil in these isles could be made to produce a sufficiency to support a population of double the present number of inhabitants. Considering the quantity of waste land which could be cultivated, the numerous acres devoted to pleasure ground, and the present imperfect state of cultivation of a great part, we may very reasonably be led to this conclusion.

It has been calculated, that two and a half acres are sufficient to support a human being. The mode, therefore, which causes thousands of acres of the best land England can produce to be rendered useless to our fellow-creatures, by appropriating it to an ostentatious display of grandeur, cannot be considered as deriving its origin from any patriotic principle. The system itself deserves the severest reprobation. Timber undoubtedly must be raised; but where land is so valuable as in England, if the hedge-rows throughout the country, and those portions of land which would scarcely admit any other cultivation, were to be planted, a sufficiency might be raised for every purpose that our present forests supply, and large tracts would be added to the productive soil of the country. The soil in the United States is fully equal to the support of a population proportionate to that of the British isles. There is therefore no danger, until some hundreds of years have elapsed, that the earth will be overstocked with inhabitants.

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In the United States, population has increased in a ratio almost unexampled. Upon a cursory view, I was inclined to adopt the opinion of Mr. Godwin, that the great increase which has been witnessed in that country, was the effect of emigration; and that Mr. Malthus erred, in stating that population might be doubled in 25 years.

It must be confessed, that the American population has received great additions from European emigrants. Of those who emigrate, the proportion of old persons and children is very different from what is found in an indigenous population. Dr. Price, in his work on reversionary payments, states, that we may consider the procreative part of the community at one-fourth of its numbers. One-half of the strangers who arrive in the United States, may be considered as adding to that part of the community last noticed. Unless we could state with some degree of precision, the accession which the country receives by emigration, as well as the ages of those who arrive; we cannot come to an exact conclusion, how far it operates upon the proportionate increase of the whole population. For more than a century, the number of inhabitants in the United States has been doubled every twenty-five years. Mr. Godwin considers that emigration has been one great cause of the astonishing increase; whilst Dr. Price, Dr. Franklin, Jefferson, and Malthus, state twenty-five years as a period sufficient to double their numbers by procreation only.

Dr. Seybert has lately published a work entitled, *Statistical Annals of the United States*; wherein he fixes the number of emigrants which have annually arrived, for about the space of twenty-five years, at 6000; and in this account he includes the year 1817, which was a most extraordinary one, the number of emigrants being estimated at 22,240. There can be no doubt, that the Doctor has had access to every authentic record to elucidate the subject; but I am disposed to fix the amount of emigration considerably higher. Let it even be fixed at 12,000 per annum; and supposing the mortality amongst the new settlers at one in forty-six, and the births to average one in fourteen; in the space of twenty-five years, by a rate of increase according to compound interest; it would give a little more than 565,000; which would only be accelerating the duplication of the inhabitants about twelve months.

I am inclined to fix the number of emigrants at 12,000, because many come into the country from Canada; and passengers are landed on the coast without any entry at the customs; for by the laws of several, if not of all the maritime states, the masters or owners of vessels are obliged to give bond, that none of the foreigners whom they introduce shall become chargeable to the town, or that they will indemnify or reimburse the cost. From every view which we can take of the subject, there is a great probability that the United States' population will be doubled at least every thirty

years. If this should be the case, what a powerful and populous empire will this be in the course of a century! It may be expected that more than one hundred millions of human beings will then exist in this part of the world. What an extraordinary difference is there in the increase of population in the United States, compared with that of the nations in Europe. France, in 1726, had a population of nineteen millions in an area of 212,800 square miles; but nearly one century and a half must elapse, before the population will be doubled. M. Necker (*de l'Administration des Finances*) supposed, that the births in France were then one million per annum, in a population of twenty-six millions, and this was at a period when France enjoyed perfect tranquillity. Allowing four hundred thousand births in a year in the United States, and multiplying that by twenty-five and three-quarters, which is Mr. Necker's calculation, it gives nearly the actual population of the United States at present; but the births there must be about five hundred thousand annually, with its present population of nearly ten millions, to verify the American calculations.

Notwithstanding the population increases so rapidly, it must be confessed, that at present the country is unhealthy. In the Eastern States, human life is not so long as it is in the more mild and settled climates of Europe. In the Middle and Western States, it is still shorter. In the Southern ones, it is again less.

Consumptions throughout the Union are very common; fever and ague, and all sorts of bilious fevers, prevail. In the summer, the dysentery carries off great numbers of children. In some of the Southern States, the yellow fever in summer sweeps away the inhabitants by thousands. At New Orleans, death demands and receives in the sickly season four out of five of all new settlers. I have heard some persons remark, (and they were attached to the country,) that a man of ninety years of age was as great a phenomenon as could be seen. Even in the Eastern States, a person of sixty years of age is, to all appearance, as old in constitution, by natural decay, as one in England of seventy. It is likewise a strange, but a correct circumstance, that those in general who attain a great age in America, are foreigners, the soundness of whose constitution has been formed in a more genial climate.

At a public meeting of some of the English radicals at New York, in the year 1819, one of the resolutions submitted to the company was, "That they could not forbear expressing their abhorrence at Cobbett, Birkbeck, and all other writers, who, by false and exaggerated statements relative to the United States, had caused persons to emigrate to a country where the inhabitants were unfriendly, the climate disagreeable, and which tended to shorten human existence." I may not have given the exact words of the proposed resolution, but this was the purport.—Franklin could reason

better on the sciences ; Jefferson, as a philosopher, was superior to these men ; yet as it regarded the feeling of a disagreeable climate, and the tendency which that climate had to shorten human life, those who proposed the resolution were as capable of judging as any one.

The census of the population of the United States is materially different from the formation of an European community. According to Dr. Halley's tables, as stated by Dr. Price on Reversionary Payments, in a note, page 283, "the number of individuals under sixteen is only a third of all the living at all ages." In the country of which we are treating, the number of those under sixteen years of age is one half the whole population. This undoubtedly exhibits an extraordinary increase. In Europe, it is considered that one-fourth of the whole community is above forty-five, but in the United States scarcely an eighth part of the population is above that age ; I should suppose that this circumstance alone would shew the unhealthiness of the climate, which must be ascribed to the exhaustion arising from the excessive heat of summer, joined to that of an uncleared country.

In answer to this opinion, it will be stated, that Dr. Seybert has given the mortality of Philadelphia, according to bills regularly published by the Board of Health, for eight years, from 1807 to 1814 inclusive ; and that it was found to be no more than one in forty-three. Therefore some

have concluded, that if the mortality in a large town like Philadelphia was only one in forty-three, the deaths in the whole country would be no more than one in fifty. This cannot be conceded, for Philadelphia is as healthy a situation as any part of the whole Union. Farther south than this city, it is not nearly so healthy; nor indeed in many parts of the country where the land is uncleared, although situated to the north of it. Philadelphia is also receiving a continual accession of strangers; foreigners, and native citizens from the country, in the prime of life; and when any contagious distemper exists, or is thought to exist, great numbers immediately leave the city; if any of these happen to die, they do not note them in the account from the Board of Health. I am of opinion, for these reasons, that the mortality, even in Philadelphia, will be as one to forty. In a country increasing so rapidly, and where so few exist above the age of forty-five, if the decrement of life were one in forty-eight, it would not prove a healthy climate or situation.

It is impossible that we can form an exact conclusion of what is the mortality in the United States, by the deaths of any particular town or district. Where one part of this great republic is situated in a mild latitude, and another approximates to the torrid zone,—and when the healthiness or unhealthiness of the situation is affected by local circumstances,—the mortality in one place may be as one to thirty, and in another



as one to sixty; therefore, to form any general conclusion for the United States from partial observations, would only lead to fallacious views. The citizens are also continually removing. In the fall, or autumn, thousands go from the north-eastern states, to the southern ones; and when the sickly months are approaching, nearly as many return from the south. From all the states, great numbers are continually moving to the interior: the person who fixes upon one in thirty-five as the proportion of deaths, has almost the same chance of being correct, as he who forms his calculation from one in forty-five.

With the present enlarged population of the country, the arrival of emigrants will not act with that ratio as hitherto, in the increase of its numbers. After one or two more censuses in the United States, we may be able to form a tolerably accurate idea of what would be the increase of the human species in Europe, were it not for those checks or restraints caused by vice and misery.

The census of the United States, in 1790, was 3,929,326, of whom about one-fifth part were slaves. In 1810, the population amounted to 7,239,903; and in 1820 to 9,625,734. In this free country, the slaves amount to nearly one million and a half; foreigners not naturalized, 53,646; persons engaged in agriculture, 2,065,499; in commerce, 72,397; and in manufactures, 349,247.

## CHAP. IX.

GENERAL STATE OF AGRICULTURE THROUGHOUT  
THE UNITED STATES.

THE genius of agriculture has extended its beneficial effects towards the United States, the soil of which exhibits proofs of its genial influence. The forests gradually disappear. The marshes and swamps, which have long been the abode of wild beasts and venomous reptiles, become fruitful fields; the corn waves in the breeze; and the reaper in the proper season obtains the reward of his toil.

In Great Britain, the effects of cultivation are particularly apparent; and notwithstanding its wastes, the greater part of the island may be compared to a garden. In the United States, agriculture has advanced in an astonishing manner; but it is far behind that of Great Britain: nor will the methods pursued in England to cultivate the soil, furnish to the resident of the United States a mode of conduct which he may advantageously pursue, when he fixes his abode in the western hemisphere. The value of land, the variation of climate, and the natural products of the country, are so diverse, that the farmer

has to pursue a mode of culture altogether different.

In the United States, at present, with the circumscribed export of flour, &c. too many persons are already employed in agricultural pursuits; as there is not a sufficient consumption in that country, for the produce. The farmers in the Eastern States find a much better demand than those in the Middle or Western ones: this arises from the great cities of New York, Philadelphia, and Boston, which furnish the agriculturist in the Eastern States with a demand for cattle, grain, &c. There are likewise numbers of persons, in the Eastern States, employed in manufactures, and the making of hats, shoes, &c. ; on which account, the farmer finds a tolerably good market. There is, also, at the different eastern ports, a demand for cattle, horses, hay, barrellled beef, pork, &c. for the Southern States, as well as for some of the West India Islands; and the American farmer can send his produce wherever he thinks proper, for there are no corn laws to restrain him.

There are, however, several causes to prevent cultivation, even in the Eastern States, from attaining that height which it has acquired in Great Britain. Land is comparatively but of little value; and as every one is desirous of possessing a great quantity, all attempt to cultivate more than they can manage; hence the land is not properly cleared of weeds, &c. An attempt to cultivate too much, is therefore a fault which is general throughout the

Union. Manuring of land, likewise, is but little practised. In the Eastern States, and in a part of those bordering on the lakes, the severe frosts of winter are a great check to a proper cultivation. Four months, or more, these frosts continue; and during the whole of that time, no out-door work can be done. The cattle during this period have nothing but dry food.

The very unsettled weather in these states, in the spring, is also extremely injurious; for after two or three weeks of warm and pleasant weather, a north-west wind frequently comes, so that the thermometer, from being temperate, will descend below the freezing point, frequently cutting off all the hopes of the husbandman. This renders the cultivation of wheat and Indian corn very precarious in the more northern states.

In the summer, the long-continued dry weather is also peculiarly detrimental. Often the drought will continue for more than a month, when the ground becomes parched, and all sorts of grasses are nearly burnt up. These different causes will for ever prevent a great part of the country from equalling the cultivation of Great Britain. In Massachusetts, and in all the Eastern States, there are particular places where agricultural pursuits have been much attended to; which shew to what extent the land of these states can be cultivated. I have seen bullocks fed in Massachusetts, equal to those slaughtered in Great Britain.

The barrelled beef of the New England states,

including Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Connecticut, command a higher price than that of any other part of the Union. In the states of New York and Pennsylvania, there is, likewise, great attention paid to the breeding and feeding of cattle. On the shambles of New York and Philadelphia, beef may be seen,\* which would not disgrace the markets of London. Virginia also may be enumerated with New York and Pennsylvania; the pork, ham, &c. from that state are justly celebrated; and there is no doubt, that in a very few years several of the Western States will vie with any of the others in all their agricultural productions, and in the breeding and feeding of cattle, &c.

In the Eastern, Middle, and Western States, much attention is paid to the breeding and rearing of horses. In all the cities and large towns, and throughout the Southern states, fine showy horses will sell nearly as high as in England. British race, and also Arabian horses, have been imported, to improve the breed of this animal. The horses which are in general use bear every characteristic mark of being the descendants of troopers, or heavy dragoon horses. The horses there require very little trouble in breaking. Neither the intense cold of winter in some of the states, nor the excessive heat of summer in all the states, appears but little to distress the horse in that country. I have witnessed the horse driven at the rate of nearly ten miles within the hour,

in very hot weather, and yet it has not appeared so much fatigued as in England in a moderate summer heat. I have also seen the horse galloped in winter before a sleigh, and perhaps left afterwards for hours in the open air, yet it did not appear in the least injured, although the thermometer was below zero. Some of their horses likewise are very fleet; the races in Virginia and South Carolina prove that the swiftness of the American horse equals that of the British. There are none of those very heavy cart horses which we have in the British sea-ports.

The cow in general use is about the size of the Devonshire one, giving five or six quarts of milk at each milking. The large cow of the Holderness, and other large breeds, would certainly not suit the United States; they are more adapted to a humid climate.

It is said, that all animals dwindle in size in this country. This is certainly incorrect. If the same care be taken there in the breeding and feeding of horses and other animals as in England, there is not a doubt that the animal would attain an equal size or weight. Bullocks have been fed in America, weighing from 2000 to 2500lbs.: hogs, 800 to 1000lbs. The country appears particularly adapted for the latter animal.

Sheep do not appear to succeed so well as oxen, &c. The mutton is not so good or fine-flavoured as the English; and it is frequently sold there at half the price of beef. It may be, that

proper attention is not paid to this branch ; for the animal is healthy, not subject to the rot, or to many diseases which are prevalent in England. The sheep or Merino mania has now subsided. Four or five years ago, the sum of 1500 dollars was paid for a ram of the Merino breed. One thousand dollars was a very common price for an animal which would not now sell for fifty. It is calculated that there are 20,000 sheep in the United States.

In the New England states they cultivate rye, barley, buckwheat, oats, hay, onions, and different sorts of vegetables, besides attending to the breeding of horses, cattle, sheep, &c. The produce, however, in these states, as well as in all others of the Union, depends chiefly upon the manner in which the land is cleared ; but, from 40 to 50 bushels of rye, the same quantity of oats, and 30 to 40 of barley, per acre, is the general produce. About one and an half to two tons of hay is procured from good land.

The different sorts of grasses which are cultivated for hay, &c. are lucern, sainfoin, burnet, Timothy, red, white, and yellow clover, green-sward, blue grass, crib grass, &c. &c. and similar grasses, are cultivated in some of the other states of the Union.

The present price of rye in these states will be from 2s. to 2s. 9d. sterling per bushel.

Hay sells, when properly packed for exportation, from 3s. to 4s. sterling per 100lbs. Great quantities

of onions are raised in New England, and exported to the Southern States and the West India islands. It often happens, that a good crop of onions will equal the value of the fee-simple of the land upon which they have been raised; but the price of this article is so various, that it cannot be stated with any accuracy. The value of good fat cattle in these states will be equal to about 2*d.* sterling the pound, exclusive of the offal. In the states bordering on New England, in addition to the articles described as cultivated there, they also produce wheat and Indian corn; but even in New Jersey some prefer sowing rye to wheat, in consequence of its being a more certain crop.

In New Jersey, much attention is paid to apple-orchards, for the making of cider and apple-brandy. Formerly there were large peach-orchards in this and the adjoining states; but within the last ten years the peach-orchards have been on the decline, the tree having been attacked by a grub, which is considered as the cause of its decay in all the Eastern States. The apple-tree still flourishes in all these states, but the cider of New Jersey is particularly noted. I have drunk some which was little inferior to champagne. An apple-tree in full bearing in New Jersey is expected to yield eight bushels. In the Western States there are large apple and peach orchards, but they are not kept in neat condition, nor is there any attention paid to the pruning of the tree.

In New York, Pennsylvania, and the Middle and



Western States; wheat, Indian corn, together with rye, barley, oats, &c. are produced. Hemp is likewise partially cultivated. In these states, the following may be estimated as near the produce of land well cleared: hemp, 8 cwts.; Indian corn, 60 bushels; wheat, 30 bushels; barley, 40; and oats, 50 bushels; clover and Timothy, about 30 cwt. per statute acre. The wheat produced in Virginia and Maryland is considered as the best; the weasel is, however, very destructive to their corn in these states.

At the cities of New York and Philadelphia, wheat at present would not sell for more than 3s. 3d. to 4s. 6d. sterling per Winchester bushel; at Alexandria in Virginia, and Baltimore in Maryland, it would sell for about the same price; the other articles of grain must be sold at a proportionate rate: we may therefore suppose, that at present, even in these states, there is little encouragement for farmers.

At New Orleans, which is the mart for all the surplus produce of the Western States, I was witness, in the spring of 1821, to wheat being sold at the very low price of 25 cents, or 12½d. sterling, the Winchester bushel: superfine flour was sold at 2½ dollars per barrel of 196lb. weight; in New York and Philadelphia it was then selling at four dollars per barrel. This year, 1822, prices are 25 to 30 per cent higher.

The most regular plan of cultivation in the states last mentioned, includes the following

course of crops. Indian corn, or maize, is sown in May: this is generally reaped sufficiently early to sow wheat in autumn, which is reaped at the usual time the following year, but clover is sown in the spring with the wheat. The third and fourth year the clover is mown twice; sometimes rye or winter barley is sown instead. Frequently the ground is made to yield an autumnal crop of buckwheat.

Indeed, in rich lands they may take three distinct crops in one year: first, they sow spring wheat in autumn; secondly, plant Indian corn in the same ground in April; thirdly, reap the wheat in June, and hoe up the Indian corn, sowing at the same time buckwheat, turnips, or pease, &c. Hemp is an article of very easy culture in many of the states.

The following are nearly the times for housing or gathering the different crops.—Grass early in July; early wheat in July. The wheat and rye harvest is generally completed before the close of August: buckwheat and Indian corn in October: oats in August: wheat and rye are sown in September; but they have spring, autumnal, and winter wheat. There is very little trouble in the United States in making hay, for if it be cut one day, it is generally fit to stack on the following one. A crop of Indian corn when growing eight, ten, and even twelve feet high, is really beautiful to view; the grasses in the United States appear of a peculiarly nutritive quality.

One would suppose from its appearance that white clover was a spontaneous production of the soil; although it is said to have been unknown before the Europeans settled in the country. I have frequently seen very heavy crops of clover, wheat, rye, barley, buckwheat, and of that very useful grain, Indian corn. This grain is cultivated at little trouble, and in general it yields an abundant crop. The pompon is planted and grows at the same time with the corn, and is an excellent winter food for cattle, &c.

The Americans in general are very negligent farmers, paying little attention to the manuring of the land, and letting their manure go to waste.

In some cases the land is so rich that it does not require manure. In the western part of the state of New York, they do not think it worth the trouble of even scattering the ashes of the trees they have burnt, on the adjacent land. In some parts of the Western Country, the power of vegetation in the soil is such, that the farmers endeavour to check its superfluous fertility. In some situations, gypsum or plaster of Paris is found of great benefit, often restoring lands which were considered as exhausted. It is difficult to state why gypsum should produce this effect. It appears as if it had the property of attracting the humidity of the atmosphere; but it must also have other properties, which at present are not understood. Gypsum does not answer near the

sea or salt water, nor on wet stiff lands; it answers best on hot, loose, or sandy soils, and if strewed over the land, five or six bushels are found sufficient for an acre. Bone-dust has not yet been tried in the United States; it is most likely that bone-dust would answer where gypsum will not succeed.

The farms in general, in Pennsylvania, are considered as being in the best order of any in the Union. The farmers are generally of Dutch or German extraction, and the farms consist of from two hundred to one thousand acres. Their dwellings and barns are good and substantial, and their live stock of a good breed, and in excellent condition. The Dutch and Germans are extremely industrious and parsimonious; the sums of money which some of them hoard are astonishing.

At present there is nothing but wood fences in the United States; and when land is cleared, they seldom leave a single tree for the cattle to be shaded under. There are no thorn hedges. In the Eastern States, and those parts bordering on the lakes, it is probable that the thorn would not succeed, owing to the severe frosts in winter; but in the Middle and Western States there is no doubt that it would flourish: and certainly it would afford a shelter for the cattle, during the oppressive heat of summer. If the thorn would not answer as a fence, there is the prickly locust, and several other small trees, indigenous

to the country, which would make an impenetrable barrier.

It is very seldom that horses are used in America for ploughing: for this work, oxen are in general employed, and likewise for the wag-gons which they use in their agricultural labour.

The Western States, which only thirty years ago were a wilderness, desert, or forest, where the "savage, with his scalping knife, was the just terror of civilized man," now boast their fruitful fields, and their millions of industrious inhabitants. There is no longer a dread of the tomahawk, for the genius of agriculture has triumphed over the savage, and the dreary waste.

It is true, that at present agricultural products are but low, but the American farmer cultivates his own land. There is no landlord to demand a rent, no parson to demand a tithe, and almost no tax-gatherer to demand an impost. It is therefore only labour which is to be taken into calculation, as the drawback to his gains. After paying this, and clothing himself and family, there is nothing else he has to work for. If there be any game on the land, he can shoot or destroy it at his pleasure; and in the Western Country there are whole herds of buffaloes, deer, &c. Thus a happy and increasing population are now possessing what recently was only the abode of the savage, of the wild beast, or the venomous reptile.

It may be said, that the picture which I have

here portrayed is discordant to other parts of the work. I am, however, here treating of the majority of the settlers, who have never been accustomed to the comforts or conveniences of English farms, English society, or English roads. Man is the creature of habit; those who have not been accustomed to luxuries, are well content without them; for "weariness can snore upon the flint," and the "stomach" of the hungry "can make what's homely savoury."

Were I in Ireland, and speaking to an Irish peasant, who shewed his cottage of mud; who told me, that he and his family had the day previously eaten their last potato, although the tithe-collector had claimed and taken what would have served them for months; had he shewn me his cold, hungry, and naked children, and exhibited himself and his wife in rags; had he told me that despair and famine had taken possession of all around him; I would say to him: If you possibly can, go to the back settlements of America: you will there have a good log-house; you may raise abundance of potatoes, both the Irish and the sweet one; you may have plenty of hogs, almost for asking; you may kill as many deer as you think proper; and load your fire with as much fuel as you wish.— But to the English farmer I would speak as I have written in the chapter entitled "Advice to Emigrants."

In Virginia, Maryland, Kentucky, &c. tobacco is cultivated; but at present, from the low price of

this article, (being no more than equal to about 1*d.* for inferior, to 3*d.* sterling for fine,) it is scarcely worth cultivating. Jefferson says, very properly, "It is a culture productive of infinite wretchedness. Those employed in it are in a continued state of exertion beyond the powers of nature to support." A tobacco plantation is, undoubtedly, the most miserable of all others in appearance; there are very few emigrating from Great Britain who would wish to engage in the culture of this article. Tobacco is nearly always cultivated by negroes, who work in sets or companies. The seed having been previously sown, the plant is transplanted in the beginning of May. These plants, set about three feet apart, are afterwards hilled, and kept free from weeds. When the number of leaves have shot out, which are considered equal to what the soil will properly nourish, the plant is broken off at the top, to prevent its farther growth. It is carefully attended to, to keep it clear of worms, and the suckers which appear are taken off. The plant generally arrives at perfection in the month of August; and when the leaves begin to turn of a brownish colour, and become spotted, it is cut down, and hung up to dry, having been previously sweated in heaps for one night. In moist damp weather, the leaves are stripped from the stalk, tied in bundles, and packed.

In the Southern States, besides Indian corn, &c. cotton and rice are produced. Cotton is not an article of difficult cultivation; one person may

attend to five or six acres. Good land will yield about 1000 pounds of seed cotton per acre. It is computed, that in this employment the profit of a prime negro slave will be about 150 dollars per annum. Rice, which can be cultivated South of 33° of north latitude, must have a situation where the land can be irrigated. The reason of the necessity for water to be introduced where rice is cultivated, appears to be, that it is requisite to destroy the weeds and grass, which would otherwise impede the growth, if not stifle the young plant. Rice when growing is not injured by being immersed in water, but the weeds and grasses are thereby destroyed; therefore, after weeding the rice, the cultivator lets the water flow upon the land, to about half the height of the plant. Rice is cultivated in the United States almost entirely by slaves.

A number of Swiss have settled at a small town called Vevay, on the river Ohio, not far from Cincinnati, where they cultivate the vine. The quality of the wine which they make is very good; and there is little doubt that success will attend their exertions, for the vine flourishes exceedingly. Indeed, there are very few of the states where the vine could not be successfully cultivated.

In Louisiana, near New Orleans, the sugar-cane is cultivated; and there are large plantations, which, if properly conducted, will yield great profits. The cultivation of the sugar-cane in the United States is attended with a little more trouble



than in the West India Islands. In those islands, and where they are not afraid of frost, they have no occasion to take up the cane; they can cut it nearly at any time, and work at leisure. But near New Orleans, the planters have to take up, before the month of November, those canes which are intended to be planted for another year's crop. They therefore pluck up a quantity of canes with all their leaves on, and stack them, taking care to prevent all possible exposure to the weather. Early in the following spring, the ground is laid in furrows either by the hoe or plough: the canes are then planted in these furrows in regular rows about three feet apart; the large or thick end of one touching, or nearly touching, the thin end of the other. After the planter has stacked his seed canes, he commences the work of boiling or granulating. The juice of the cane is first extracted by its being placed between two heavy rollers.

The cultivation of the sugar-cane is not attended, even in the United States, with much difficulty; the plant throws up a stalk at each eye or notch, and there is not much trouble in weeding. A gang of thirty negro men, with as many women and children, are sufficient for a plantation where 200 to 250 hogsheads are produced in a year. One man, assisted by five negroes, has been known to take 50 hogsheads to market. The hogshead at New Orleans contains about 10 cwt. The necessary erections for a plantation to produce 100 to 120 hogsheads of sugar, could not be completed

under 4000 dollars. Sugar, of a tolerably good quality, may be sold, upon a plantation near New Orleans, at seven dollars the 100 lbs. The planter, on a British West Indian island, at present will not nett four dollars for sugar of a similar quality. Molosses also can be disposed of at a better price than in the British or any of the West India islands. Sugar lands, if good, yield about 12 cwt. of sugar per acre, besides molosses, which, if distilled, would make about sixty gallons of spirits, common proof of England.

The sugar-cane grows luxuriantly near New Orleans, and there is a certain and constant demand for the articles of sugar and molosses, to all the Atlantic states of the Union, as the Louisiana sugar is admitted free of duty. Certainly none of the planters in the West India islands can possibly be so advantageously situated. A plantation can be worked in Louisiana, at a less expense than in any of the British islands; and yet the planter can obtain from three to four dollars per cwt. more for his sugar. *Derby's Louisiana*, an American publication, gives a full view of the probable profits of working a sugar plantation in Louisiana, to which I refer those who are desirous of obtaining information on the subject. There are, however, very few who would wish to leave England to become slaveholders, to reside in a sultry, sickly, and disagreeable climate, environed by negroes, let the hopes of gain be ever so flattering.

Having, in the preceding parts of this chapter, given a report which may seem to have an unfavourable aspect towards agriculture, it is but fair that the causes should be elucidated, which have led to these apparently disastrous issues. These are involved in no mystery; they naturally arise from the relative changes that have taken place among the nations of Europe, so that nothing more can be necessary than to give a simple statement of facts.

For more than twenty years, the nations of Europe were engaged in hostilities. During a great part of that time, Great Britain had occasion to import large quantities of corn. From bad harvests, and other causes, in some years corn rose to an exorbitant price. The following account is taken from an official parliamentary document:—

**AVERAGE ANNUAL PRICE OF WHEAT IN ENGLAND  
AND WALES.**

	s.	d.		s.	d.		s.	d.		s.	d.
1791	47	2	1799	67	6	1807	73	3	1815	64	4
1792	42	11	1800	113	7	1808	79	0	1816	75	10
1793	48	11	1801	118	3	1809	95	7	1817	94	9
1794	51	8	1802	67	5	1810	106	2	1818	84	1
1795	74	2	1803	56	6	1811	94	6	1819	73	0
1796	77	1	1804	60	1	1812	125	5	1820	65	7
1797	53	1	1805	87	10	1813	108	9	1821	62	5
1798	50	3	1806	79	0	1814	73	11	1822	47	2

In 1804, a law was passed, prohibiting the importation of foreign corn into Great Britain for

consumption, unless the average price was 63s.; and in 1815, it was enacted, that foreign corn should be excluded, unless the average price was 80s. the quarter.

In the years 1795 and 1796, there were some trifling importations of corn and flour into Great Britain from the United States; again in 1799; but in 1800 and 1801 very considerable quantities were imported from thence. From the year 1805 to 1814, prodigious quantities of bread materials were imported from the United States; also, in 1817 and 1818. Thus for fourteen years, within the range of twenty-two years, beginning in 1796, the British merchant was a customer to the American agriculturist, and was paying him exorbitant prices for the produce of his land, sometimes even three or four times more than would have been a fair or equivalent price for raising it. It was not only the British merchant who was purchasing corn and flour, &c. in the United States, but Spain, Portugal, France, &c. were also occasionally receiving supplies.

In 1803, the crop in Spain was remarkably deficient; the consequence was, that the same quantity of wheat which was sold in the province of Leon for 36 reals vellon, the fanega, was worth, in 1804, 155 reals. Above nine millions of fanegas of corn were imported into Spain in that year; a great part of which was received from the United States. In 1811 and 1812, the prices of grain were again very high in Spain; for, although

the imports into Great Britain during those two years, were very considerable, yet in 1811 and 1812 England was obliged to send grain and flour to the Peninsula, for the support of the British troops. By these means, there was, during these two years, an actual excess of exports of grain, amounting to the sum of 700,000*l.* in value, over the imports. The West India islands had, for about twenty years, drawn their chief supply of bread materials from the United States; and many cargoes of flour were also sent to the Brazils. Hence, in consequence of the vast foreign demand for grain, the American agriculturist was greatly encouraged; and thousands of acres of land were annually cleared, and, being cultivated, produced crops of grain. The high price of corn in Great Britain stimulated the English farmer to make new exertions to enlarge his crops. Hence, large tracts of waste lands throughout the kingdom were enclosed and cultivated, and inferior lands were manured; so that, in the year 1819, importation had so nearly ceased, that no more than 500,000 quarters were imported; which is scarcely one-eightieth part of the annual (or five days,) consumption of the country. Since that year, Great Britain has not furnished a market for grain to the American farmer. Such, indeed, is the operation of our corn laws, that, although in one year England may be a purchaser of millions of quarters of corn, yet in the following one her ports may be closed.

Excepting to some of the West India islands, since 1819 there has been little exportation of grain and flour from the United States. In the years 1819 and 1820, the same quantity of corn was cultivated by the American farmer as formerly; but for want of markets, it lay on hand. In the year 1821, less was raised; and the crop will be still diminished in the year 1822. But, as their manufactures are yet in their infancy, it is not easy for those who have employed themselves in agriculture, to gain a livelihood in any other mode. Many American farmers, possessing large tracts of land, do not wish to see that part, which at great labour and expense has been cleared and made fit for cultivation, going again to waste; and therefore it is very probable, that for several years to come, more grain will be cultivated than will be wanted.

The quantity of grain annually raised in the United States will be about twenty-five millions of quarters, and the regular consumption would not amount to twenty millions; but when prices are extremely low, the greater quantity which will be given to cattle, &c. and distilled into whiskey, will cause two or three millions of quarters more to be consumed. It is in the nature of things, that, if more grain be raised than is wanted, and if the agriculturist cannot dispose of it, excepting at a price which will not reward him for his labour, he will cease to cultivate his poorest lands, and thus the quantity produced will be diminished.

In treating of the situation of the farmer in the United States, we must always bear in mind, that he is not burdened with taxes, poor's rates, tithes, or rent ; therefore, upon a very slight alteration from the present, his situation will be ameliorated, and he will again be rendered comfortable and prosperous.

## CHAPTER X.

## MANUFACTURES AND COMMERCE.

THE commerce of this vast country was far from being contemptible, even when the United States were considered as colonies of Great Britain. As time advanced, it was always on the increase; and at the period of the revolution, it had acquired a magnitude of sufficient importance to attract the attention of every civilized nation throughout the world.

In the year 1769, the colonists had 642 vessels, containing 126,600 tons, and which employed 7,596 seamen, engaged in foreign and domestic trade. In the year 1772, the export trade from Great Britain to the colonies of North America, amounted to 6,022,132*l.* which at that period bore a considerable proportion to the whole exports of the mother country. The imports from Great Britain, and the exportation from the colonies of the return cargoes, which consisted of cotton, indigo, tobacco, ashes, &c. did not, however, comprise the whole of their commerce. The chief part of the 642 American vessels were employed in the fisheries, and in exporting lumber, live stock, &c. to the West India islands.



It has been already noticed, that when the stamp act was passed, in the year 1764, the colonists, being well aware of the importance of their trade to the mother country, resorted to the measure of not importing any goods from Great Britain during its continuance. The repeal of this obnoxious impost caused a renewal of their commercial intercourse. This harmony was, however, again disturbed by the famous revenue act of 1767, which imposed a tax upon the colonists, by levying a duty upon tea, &c. This once more caused an interruption to their commercial pursuits; and as a general revolt soon afterwards took place throughout the colonies, by which they incurred the indignation of the British government, the whole power of the English navy was employed against them, and, as a natural consequence, their commerce was destroyed; nor could it be resumed till the treaty of peace in 1782, which rendered the thirteen colonies for ever independent of Great Britain.

That a vigorous and enterprising population of three millions and a half of people, possessing a sea-coast of more than two thousand miles, with every advantage of good harbours, and having cotton, rice, indigo, tobacco, &c. to give in exchange for manufactured goods, should prosecute a considerable trade, is not a subject to excite astonishment. At the commencement of their independence, there were very few, if any, manufactories throughout the Union. Prior to

this period, they had been chiefly dependent upon Great Britain for their supplies, though some articles, particularly cloth, were imported from various parts of Europe. But from the time that their independence was acknowledged, their commerce increased in an unexampled manner.

In the year 1793, while all the European powers were involved in destructive warfare, the inhabitants of the United States remained at peace, and busily employed themselves in agriculture and commerce. During this year, their exports alone amounted to 26,011,788 dollars, which were distributed among the nations in the following manner: — To Russia 5,769; Sweden 310,427; Denmark 870,508; Holland 3,169,536; Great Britain 8,431,239; Imperial ports 1,013,347; Hans Towns 792,537; France 7,050,498; Spain 2,237,950; Portugal 997,590; Italian ports 220,688; Morocco 2094; East Indies 253,131; Africa 251,343; West Indies 399,559; North-west Coast of America 1,586; Uncertain 3,986. In the West India islands of all nations, they found a ready market for lumber, live stock, and provisions of every kind; and under the flag of neutrality, their shipping became the common carriers of all Europe. Even Great Britain was indebted on this occasion to the services of this republic.

To the dreadful calamities of war, even the elements appeared to add their effects against Great Britain, and some other parts of Europe; which created a demand for flour, &c. from the

United States. Thus it appeared that even famine lent its aid, to benefit this new and rising empire. Every occurrence united to favour them; and riches in consequence flowed in abundantly. This favourable tide of prosperity continued until the peace of Amiens in 1802. This peace, however, was not of long continuance. War being again declared between Great Britain and France in April 1803, the great advantages of the carrying trade once more devolved on the United States. Throughout all Europe, the West India isles, the East Indies, and China, the "star-spangled banners," were again waving, and the colonists were carrying on every where a most lucrative and extensive commerce. During this time, they truly experienced "the golden days of commercial aggrandisement." In this war, Great Britain had to put forth all her energies; for nearly all the kingdoms of Europe lay prostrate before the overwhelming power of France.

To avoid the calamities of war, and allured by the prospects of commercial advantage, great numbers of British subjects had entered into the merchant service of the United States; and, as all spoke the same language, the detection was rendered extremely difficult; and more especially so, as the Americans extended their protections with the greatest facility to those who took shelter under their flag. The British, aware of this circumstance, contended for the right of searching American vessels, to discover British seamen,—to

prevent the transmission of warlike stores and contraband goods from one port to another,—and to seize such property as could be proved to belong to the enemy. In prosecuting this search, it frequently occurred, that American citizens were impressed into the British service; and it sometimes happened, that their vessels were unjustly detained. The British government also contended for, and practised, the right of declaring different ports in a state of blockade; although they had no land forces near the place: hence many American vessels were seized and condemned, for violating what they termed paper blockades.

But if the Americans had reason to reprobate the conduct of Great Britain, they had also equal cause of complaint against France. American property had long been sequestered in Spain, France, and elsewhere, by the order of the French government, upon the most frivolous pretexts. At length, Napoleon issued his famous Berlin and Milan decrees; and the British Government also issued their orders in council, all of which tended to facilitate a rupture. The American government, in the meanwhile, considering that neither of the belligerent powers had respected their neutrality, resorted to measures of embargo and non-intercourse; so that at length, Great Britain and the United States became involved in war. The immediate consequence was, that the foreign commerce of the Americans was annihilated, and their ships, which

had waved their banners in every port, were doomed to rot in their harbours. Manufactured goods immediately advanced to an enormous price; whilst their cotton, tobacco, rice, &c. were scarcely of any value. To counteract in part the former evil, many cotton and woollen manufactories were at this time erected in different parts of the Union, chiefly in Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, and Maryland.

The peace of Ghent, between Great Britain and the United States, in 1814, however, restored their foreign commerce; but the great influx of British and other European goods, which they received immediately after that pacification, ruined their infant cotton and woollen manufactories. Partial attempts have since been made to revive them; and there is now a considerable party in the Union, who strenuously contend for the imposing of higher duties upon the importation of manufactured articles, in order to encourage their domestic trade. These men state, that it would promote the agricultural interest, for a portion of the population to be employed in manufactures, as this would take off or consume the surplus produce of flour, &c. A variety of similar reasons are advanced by the manufacturers and their supporters, all of which tend to persuade the government to increase the duties on foreign goods, but more particularly on cotton and woollen, and some other manufactured articles.

The duty at present upon nearly all manufactured articles is  $27\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. ad valorem, but no cotton goods are to be considered as of less value than 25 cents, or  $12\frac{1}{4}d.$  English, the square yard. But as some of the lower sorts of British calicoes, as well as the low sorts of East India cotton goods, are not now worth more than one-third of that sum; it therefore results, that upon goods of this description, there is now an actual duty of 75 per cent ad valorem. Under these circumstances, many persons maintain, that the present duties are perfectly sufficient, not only to protect, but likewise to encourage the American manufactures; and that, should they languish under such high protecting duties, they are not worth upholding. They argue also, that it might injure the southern planters, who cultivate or raise cotton; and these, with their slaves, &c. are very numerous. Part of the population of North Carolina, the greater portion of South Carolina, Georgia, Mississippi, Alabama, &c. are employed in the growth or production of cotton. The quantity generally produced there, is about one hundred and fifty millions of pounds weight; supporting a population of more than a million individuals, including those employed in sowing or planting, cleaning, and pressing, &c. of this quantity two-thirds, or about one hundred millions of pounds weight, are exported to Great Britain.

Including the cotton, tobacco, rice, &c. ex-

ported to Great Britain, we may safely calculate, that one million of the population of the United States are employed, or supported, by the British trade: nor is this the whole; those who cultivate cotton, tobacco, &c. purchase their corn, their beef, pork, &c. from the farmers in the Eastern and Western States. Admitting that twenty-five thousand persons, (or, including the families, one hundred thousand,) are employed or supported in Great Britain to manufacture goods for the American market; neither the profits to the British manufacturer, nor the numbers employed in the fabrication, are any thing to compare with the profits to the cultivator, nor to the great numbers of the American population, who produce, or are benefited by the production, of the raw article. In fact, we may consider that the duties levied, in the United States, on British manufactured goods, are in some respects similar to the imposition of a tax on British labour.

Supposing the Americans were to exclude all British manufactured goods, and that instead of twenty-five thousand British labourers with their families, the same number of American citizens were employed and supported, to produce those articles which they now import from England, and which yield a revenue of twelve millions of dollars to the United States government,—what would be the consequence? It could not be expected that Great Britain would allow the importation of their raw materials: instead of

this, they would encourage other countries to produce the article. The citizens of the United States have the benefit of producing one hundred millions of pounds weight of cotton, not one-fourth of which is manufactured for their own use; it therefore follows, that the whole of the population employed in producing seventy-five millions of pounds weight of cotton, would have to cultivate some other article. This would clash with the farmer, who produced his bread and other necessities of life. If, therefore, the government should yield to the clamours of the faction who are teasing them to increase the duties; the southern planters would find, too late, that their interest has been sacrificed.

I am of opinion, that cotton will not cost the planter more than six or seven cents the pound; the price latterly has been ten to fourteen cents, or from *5d.* to *7½d.* English; and at present, 1822, it is from 16 to 22 cents the pound. The American shipping interest is likewise greatly benefited by the British trade; for not only the raw article is imported into Great Britain by them, but the manufactured goods are exported hence chiefly in American vessels.

Some persons conceive there are obstacles almost insurmountable, which will prevent the successful establishment of cotton and woollen manufactories in the United States; but this opinion in a great degree is erroneous. At first, when factories were erected, which was during



the prosecution of the war against Great Britain, they were built by companies, or share-holders; so that shares of 100 dollars or more were subscribed for, until they amounted to a certain sum. To conduct the business, managers were appointed, some of whom had large salaries allowed. Now, so long as establishments conducted in this mode continue profitable, the share-holders will be satisfied with the management; but a reverse of circumstances will produce complaints. Whilst the war continued, great profits accrued from all the manufacturing establishments; and in most instances, the profits were expended in increasing or enlarging the factories. But when peace took place between Great Britain and the United States, the ruin which ensued to these establishments produced nothing but acrimony amongst the share-holders. This was the case nearly in every instance.

The factories in the United States, in general, are frame or wooden buildings, containing one thousand spindles, chiefly throstle spindles; with cards, and other requisite machinery for preparation, they cost from thirty to forty thousand dollars. After the peace, nearly all these concerns were closed, and the factories, with their machinery, were sold at one-seventh, and in some instances at one-twelfth, of the original cost.

In consequence of these factories (or, as they are called by the Americans, mills) being offered at such low prices; after a lapse of two years

from the conclusion of the war, about one-third of them were worked; but in three out of four instances, loss was the result. For two years past, the article of cotton has been declining in price. But the high duty upon the lower description of cotton goods imported, has encouraged several again to engage both in cotton and woollen factories.

Some of these establishments, however, are at present profitable; more especially, one which is carried on at Waltham, near Boston, in Massachusetts. This is the largest concern in the Union. There are about 5000 throstle spindles worked there; and several machine-makers from England and Scotland state, that there is not in Great Britain a cotton factory with more complete machinery, or one that is better adapted for working goods of a coarse description. Those who conduct these establishments are gentlemen of property; and there are not more than four or five persons interested.

Independently of the preceding and a few others, the cotton factories in the United States are chiefly trifling establishments, conducted by persons who have little or no capital, and who, in consequence, labour under great difficulties. They have to allow a commission for the purchasing of the raw article, and afterwards, when it is manufactured, they are obliged to forward it to some agent, in order to obtain an advance: another heavy commission is charged on the sale of the manu-

factured goods. These commissions, together with defective machinery, have ruined many.

At the Waltham establishment, they have 150 power looms ; and in several others they have also power looms, but in general not more than twenty, indeed, I know of no other factory but the Waltham where they have fifty. The power looms cost about eighty dollars each ; and to have twenty, fitted up with dressing-machine, &c. would cost near 2000 dollars.

In Great Britain, from the low price of weaving, power looms are nearly discarded. Twist or yarn of a better quality is required for these looms, than what can be worked in the common hand-loom. In the United States, where the expense of weaving is greater than in England, these power looms can be worked at 25 per cent. less than hand weaving.

It is calculated, in America,—considering the interest on the purchase of power looms, necessary repairs, oil, and wages to those who attend,—that the weaving of coarse yarn, Nos. 14 to 16, will cost, in an 800 reed, 2 cents, or 1*d.* English, the yard of three-quarters wide. The price of hand weaving is 2½ cents for shirting calicoes, in a 700 reed ; gingham, or stripes, in an 800 reed, 4 cents per yard. In the United States it is considered, that to pay the rent of a cotton-mill, wages, and all other requisite expenses, the cost of spinning cotton, yarn, or twist, of all numbers below 12, would be 10 cents, or 5½*d.* English money, the pound. I believe, at Waltham they will be able to spin at 25 per cent.

less, in consequence of their superior machinery. The machinery generally employed in the United States, is of a poor description. At Paterson, near New York, there are nine factories in operation, and, excepting one or two of these factories, an experienced machine-maker informed me, that the machinery of all the rest was of little value. Several of the factories there, although they had 1500 spindles moving, did not spin more than about 1200lbs. weight of yarn per week, averaging No. 10. One factory there, conducted by Mr. Morris, with no more than 500 spindles, executed nearly as much; in consequence of the superiority of his machinery.

The rent of a cotton factory with machinery, in the United States, is generally one dollar per annum for each spindle, and this includes water power. Cotton machinery will cost there about 40 per cent. more than in Great Britain, but some good British workmen are to be obtained. I certainly believe, that an establishment or factory of 10,000 spindles, having the most approved machinery, with power looms, and provided the conductors had a sufficient capital to purchase cotton, giving an immediate payment, and incurring no commission upon the sale of the manufactured article, might realize a profit of 15 per cent. more than in Great Britain, which would fully counterbalance for the difference of wages, &c. in America. Admitting that labour in America is one-third higher than in Great Britain, then the following calculation will shew,

that, even with that disadvantage, the manufacturer in the United States may cope with the British.

The present price of cotton in the Liverpool market, is for Bowed Georgia cotton about 9d. per lb.

## IN ENGLAND.

	£.	s.	d.
Cost of 100 lb. of cotton, at 9d. per. lb. ....	3	15	0
Manufacturing the same into 375 yards of cloth, would cost about .....	5	0	0
Duty in the United States, expense of shipment, &c. taking it at 33½ per cent. ad valorem .....	2	18	4
Cost in Great Britain.....	£11	13	4

## IN THE UNITED STATES.

Cost of 100 lb. of similar cotton at New York, at 16 cents .....	16	00
Manufacturing the same.....	29	45

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*Dollars* 45 45

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Equal to.. 10 4 6

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In favour of the American manufacturer..... £1 8 10

This calculation supposes equal machinery to be employed in the United States as in Great Britain; and there is no doubt that when they have equal machinery there, and a sufficient capital, that with the present duties, in the process of time the British manufacturer will be excluded from the market. At present, I conceive that the quantity of cotton twist manufactured throughout the Union

will be near two hundred and fifty thousand pounds weight per week, or about thirteen millions of pounds per annum, which in weight will be equal to more than one-fourth of the whole consumption of the country: this will make about fifty millions of yards of cotton cloth.

The wages given to those who are employed in these factories, are, in general,—to the principal carders, eight to ten dollars per week; the superintendant of the throstle room, seven to nine dollars; other men, from five to six dollars; a boy of 16 to 18 years of age, four dollars; girls employed at the power looms, two and a half to three dollars; girls and boys employed in the card room, one and a quarter to two dollars. In the throstle room, from two to two and a half dollars per week. Mule spinners, stretchers, and reelers receive about one-third more than the prices in England. In general, the conductors of the factories keep a shop or store; and it is stipulated that one half of the wages shall be paid in groceries, &c. This will of course reduce the wages about ten per cent.

I have thus endeavoured to give a full account of the cotton manufactories in the United States, in order that persons engaged in woollen and other manufacturing occupations may form some idea of the difference of expense in America to what it is in Great Britain.

Manufacturing establishments may be considered as being now permanently fixed in all the

Eastern States, in Maryland, and at Pittsburg; Lexington, and several other towns in the Western States. A situation, or site, for erecting a factory with seventy to eighty horse water power, within a convenient distance of a market, can be purchased for three or four thousand dollars.

Besides cotton and woollen factories, there are a few for manufacturing duck for sail-cloth. A great part of the flax, or raw article, for these establishments, is imported from Russia or Ireland. But to encourage this branch of trade, the American government contract with these manufacturers for the duck, at a price, as I am informed, of more than 30 per cent. above that for which they could obtain it from Russia.

It must not be dissembled, that there are circumstances which render it disagreeable to carry on manufactures in America. The workmen are under very little subjection: sometimes they are absent from their work for several days, to the great detriment of the employer; but should they be reprimanded, it might cause the proprietor to be insulted; and the indignation of the working people, in this land of equality, is really to be dreaded. Those workmen who are attentive, and of economical habits, soon acquire a little property; and with this they will buy land, and quit their former employers, for all species of servitude is disliked in the United States. There is nothing to prevent these manufactories from increasing, even with the present duties; and it is

but proper, that the British government should fix a higher impost upon cotton of the growth of the United States. Indeed, to fix a duty upon the raw article in proportion to what is exacted upon British manufactures in the country from whence the raw article has been exported, would perhaps be the most effectual means to prevent their manufactories rivalling those of Great Britain. It is perfectly fair, if the British employ a number of cultivators of cotton in America, for them to say, You must in return employ our manufacturers. The exports from the United States at present amount to about seventy millions of dollars in value. Twenty millions of this amount are in the re-exporting foreign goods. One half of the whole exports are to Great Britain. The amount of goods imported into the United States exceeds eighty millions of dollars.

There are considerable establishments of hatters, brewers, shoe-makers, distillers, iron founders, paper makers, glass makers,—with iron-forges, cut nails, slitting mills, rolling mills, gunpowder works, coarse pottery ware, &c.

Many of the manufactories in the Eastern States of New York and Pennsylvania are very large establishments. They not only supply those states with hats, but they send large quantities to the Middle and Southern ones, especially to Savannah, Charleston, and New Orleans. The British hat-manufacturer is nearly excluded from the market. It is not more than four years



since, that all who had any pretensions to gentility, purchased hats at eight or ten dollars each; these certainly were handsome, well-made beaver hats. Lately, however, other hats have been introduced, which at first look equally well with those expensive ones. These are sold at four dollars, and at present very few purchase the high-priced hats.

There are several breweries in the United States, especially in New York and Pennsylvania, where they brew both ale and porter. At some of these they brew from six to ten thousand barrels per annum. A considerable quantity is sent to the Southern market; but the British porter is so much superior, that it obtains a decided preference, so that a vast quantity is still imported from Great Britain. The price of ale and porter, of American brewing, is from five to seven dollars per barrel; but all the malt liquor brewed there is vastly inferior in quality to the British.

Shoes and boots are made in great quantities; and they may be purchased at very low prices in the Eastern States, particularly in Massachusetts, and New Jersey. Boots are sold wholesale at from two to three dollars per pair; shoes from three-quarters to one dollar per pair. They make many boots and shoes with wooden or copper pegs, with which, instead of stitching the soles, they fasten them together; the price of these is rather less. The Eastern States send many shoes to the Middle ones; and the Southern States

are almost entirely supplied from thence. There are few shoes now imported from Great Britain; thus, in two articles, hats and shoes, requiring manual labour, the Americans, in consequence of making them so cheap, have succeeded so as to prevent any foreign competition.

Distilling, in the United States, is carried on to a great extent; there are a few establishments in Massachusetts, New York, and Pennsylvania, and also in some of the Western towns. Some of the distilleries work entirely from molasses, others from grain; the former is distilled into rum, and the latter generally into gin and whiskey. These articles, whiskey, gin, and rum, are sold wholesale by the distillers at from thirty-seven and a half to fifty cents per gallon, or about 1s. 9d. to 2s. 3d. per gallon, sterling. When cider is made, a considerable quantity is fermented, and distilled into what is called apple-brandy; this is sold at the same price as American gin. Peaches are also fermented, and distilled into what is termed peach-brandy; the whole-sale price is from a half to three-quarters of a dollar per gallon. In New Orleans, in 1821, thousands of barrels of whiskey were brought down the Mississippi, and sold at the very low price of sixteen to twenty cents a gallon; which is equal to only 9d. or 11d. per gallon, of English money. More than thirty millions of gallons of ardent spirits are annually distilled and consumed in the United States.

In different parts of the United States, iron-ore abounds; and there are, both in the Eastern and Western States, forges established; together with rolling and slitting mills. The quality of the iron is said to be good: it is sold in bars, at about four and a half dollars per hundred pounds. There are several manufactures of cut nails: these are made chiefly by machinery, in which the nail is cut from the bar, and headed. The working of these forges, &c. and the making of cut nails, have caused the exportation of these articles from Great Britain to the United States to be much diminished.

There are several paper makers, particularly in the Eastern States; New York, and Pennsylvania. A French gentleman is now establishing a manufactory near the city of New York, to make paper upon some new mode. The American writing paper is not so good as the British; but, in this manufactory, they are succeeding, and in a very short time there will be but little paper imported. There are several gunpowder makers, and the quality of this article is tolerably good. There are also glass works; one of which, at Boston in Massachusetts, certainly exhibits some beautiful specimens of work, both in the clearness and cutting of the glass.

There are several extensive establishments in Massachusetts, New York, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, &c. of iron founderies. Their castings are good; and I have seen several steam-engines

both on the high-pressure and also on Bolton and Watt's principle, of excellent American workmanship. The cost is about twenty-five per cent. more than in England. In New Orleans, for some of the sugar plantations, they still import steam-engines from Great Britain.

Cabinet making, coach and waggon building, wood and rush bottomed chairs, are all great branches of business in the Eastern States, the inhabitants of which are not only supplied with these articles, but large quantities are sent to the Southern States. The prices of these latter articles at present, in New York, are similar to the prices in England.

There are extensive works for soap-boiling, &c. in the Eastern States, and from these the Southern ones are supplied. There are not many sugar refiners; the Havannah clayed sugar is used instead of lump or refined sugar. Dyers, in the United States, charge much higher than in England; but there are few or no extensive establishments. Bleachers charge about twenty per cent. more than in England: one cent per yard for bleaching cotton shirting, and nine cents per pound for bleaching cotton twist. Manufacturing establishments are nearly confined to the Eastern States; but the following are carried on at Pittsburg, Lexington, Louisville, and Cincinnati—brewers, hatters, cotton and woollen factories, cabinet makers, button makers, iron founders, ship-building, (though nearly two thousand

miles from the sea) glass workers, cut-nails, and some other branches.

Before I quit the subject of manufactures, it is proper to state, that household, or domestic manufactures of woollen, linen, &c. are carried on to a great extent: many thousands of families spin and make up their own clothing, sheets, table linen, &c. They purchase cotton yarn, and have it frequently mixed with their linen and woollen. Blankets, quilts, or coverlets, in short, nearly every article of domestic use, is made, or a great part made, in the family. It is supposed that nearly two-thirds of all the clothing, linen, blankets, &c. of those inhabitants who reside in the interior of the country, are of home or household manufacture. It is the same in the interior with both soap and candles, for they have no excisemen to prevent their making those articles in the family.

The foreign commerce of the United States consists of the exportation of cotton, rice, tobacco, ashes, &c. to Great Britain, France, Germany, and other parts of Europe. They have likewise considerable trade to all the West India islands, excepting those belonging to Great Britain, from whence they are very properly excluded by the operation of the British navigation laws. To Cuba, and the other West India isles, they take flour, rice, &c. and return with rum, sugar, molasses, &c.

The Americans have likewise a considerable trade with the East Indies, and especially to Canton in China. It is said that the Americans are

much favoured by the Chinese. From China, they return with teas, silks, nankeens, &c.; and some of their vessels are employed in taking teas, &c. from Canton to Holland, Germany, &c.

The importations into the United States consist of manufactured articles both from Europe and the East Indies; also coffee, sugar, molasses, &c. from the West Indies.

There is a considerable internal commerce in the United States. The Southern States attend to the cultivation of cotton, &c. and there is a constant interchange of commodities between the different sections of the Union. No less than 30,000 hogsheads of sugar, besides a great quantity of molasses, are sent from New Orleans to different places or sea-ports in the Union. The quantity of sugar produced in Louisiana is about twenty-five millions of pounds weight per annum, which sugar is shipped from New Orleans to all the Atlantic states of the Union. About 20,000 acres of land are now under cultivation with the sugar-cane in the United States; but there are 500,000 acres of land in that country which might be employed in the same way. The Western States, and some of the others, produce about twelve millions of pounds of sugar from the sugar maple tree. The quantity of sugar consumed in the United States is not less than ninety millions of pounds weight annually.

In the Eastern States, the commerce from the sea-port towns to the interior is considerable. On

the North river, which empties itself into the ocean near the city of New York, thousands of sloops are employed. On the Mississippi, the numbers of steam-boats, keel boats, and flat-bottomed boats, carrying merchandise and produce, it is really surprising to witness, especially in such a recently settled country. In fact, a very active internal commerce is carried on in the United States.

When articles of merchandise are sold in the United States, the purchaser gives his note of hand for the amount of the purchase, if the goods are bought at a private sale; but if at public auction, then the creditors of sale require the note of the purchaser, together with the endorsement of some responsible person. Most articles of merchandise are sold by public auction, and many upon a credit of three, six, or nine months. The consequence of this mode of selling goods, (requiring an endorsement,) has sometimes produced lamentable consequences. A sort of chain or link being formed by persons endorsing for each other, it sometimes occurs, that by the failure of one, numbers are involved, and thus the failure of several is occasioned. When a person has endorsed, or lent money, to one in business, it is considered as a sort of honorary or privileged debt; and it frequently happens, that by liquidating these obligations, there is not a cent left for the other creditors: but it often occurs, in failures in the United States, that there is not a cent for any one.

There are many banks in the United States,

These are nearly all chartered companies, by the particular state in which such banks are situated. These banks are held in shares, generally of 100 dollars each; but often not more than half the amount subscribed for will be demanded. Generally, twenty directors, a president, and cashier, are chosen from the stock-holders. The profits which are expected to arise from these establishments are by issuing their notes. I have mentioned the mode of purchasing merchandise by notes of hand: these notes in general are offered for discount; for which, if the directors approve of them, they will give their own notes, charging interest after the rate of 6 or 7 per cent. per annum, by which means their notes get into circulation.

Although by the constitution of the country, nothing but the precious metals can be a legal tender for a money contract, yet there is very little of the precious metals ever seen. A bank having notes in circulation for millions of dollars, will perhaps not have more than 200,000 dollars in specie in their vaults. In all the states, excepting the Western ones, the banks at present are in good repute; and if any one, on presenting their notes, should demand specie, they would obtain it. This is the case generally, but there are many instances to the contrary; and some country banks in all the States are continually failing. In the Western States, it would be attended with great difficulty to obtain specie for bank notes. In some it would cost from ten to fifty per cent.



By some persons, a very profitable business is carried on, which the Americans term Shaving, that is, discounting bank notes: for instance, a person of the city of New York, having a number of notes, some of them of banks in the interior of the state; others, of banks at Georgia, Louisiana, &c.; in order to obtain current notes, or specie, has to apply to these shavers, or brokers, who charge a certain discount, according to the distance, or degree of credit, of the bank whose notes are offered. These brokers likewise discount notes of hand, or bills, such as the bankers would refuse. In some cases I have known two per cent. per month paid for money to these shavers. In some parts of the Western Country, it is difficult to transact business, in consequence of the wretched state of their currency. For small change, tickets or notes of only a quarter of a dollar are issued.

Besides the different local banks, there is one general Bank of the United States; but this has not been in operation more than seven years. The original shares or subscriptions to this bank were one hundred dollars. But by paying large dividends to the subscribers for one or two years, the directors succeeded in causing bank stock to advance to one hundred and fifty dollars:

Several had subscribed for stock, who merely gave their own note with an indorsement for payment. Indeed, the conducting of this bank, at one period, by the directors, was in the high-

est degree scandalous, and in violation of the charter. At length, in 1819, the whole iniquitous plan was exposed, and shares or stock fell from one hundred and forty-eight to ninety. At present it is under different management; and although for two years they have paid no dividend, yet in a short time it is expected that dividends will be made, and that bank stock will be at par.

I have already mentioned, that very little of the precious metals is ever seen in the United States. What they have, is locked up in the vaults of the different banks. Many thousand dollars are brought from the West India islands, particularly from Havannah, although the government there punishes the attempt of transporting specie by a heavy fine, and the forfeiture of the specie, whenever discovered. But futile will always be the attempt of governments to restrain the exportation of specie. The Americans take, in value, more flour, rice, &c. to Cuba, than they want in sugar, coffee, or molasses; and the precious metals, for the amount of the balance, will find its way to the United States, in spite of all preventive laws. From other sources also, the Americans obtain much specie. Their trade to China, for teas, &c. causes much of the specie to disappear; for most of the vessels which sail thither, take at least one hundred thousand dollars in silver. It is foreign to the object of this work to enter into a disquisition relative to the

advantages or disadvantages of this commerce ; but the drain of specie, both from Europe and the United States, to support the tea trade, is excessive.

The commerce of the country would be much benefited by a general bankrupt law, for although the insolvent act of the different states provides for the making of an insolvent debtor faithfully to surrender all his property for the benefit of his creditors, yet means are found to evade the intention of these acts, and at present a complete system of fraud and villany is practised.

Persons who have defrauded their creditors are not held in sufficient contempt. I know one, who had evidently committed the most barefaced frauds, and had even been prosecuted by one of the banks at New York as a swindler ; yet the president of a contiguous bank noticed and countenanced him.

I was once in a country place in New Jersey, where an inhabitant resided, who had been twice in the state prison for forgery. After his liberation the second time, when he arrived at the town, nearly all the inhabitants welcomed him : they called his being convicted a misfortune, but said he was a smart man.

Until public opinion mark with odium the individual who has acted fraudulently, it is in vain to expect an honourable conduct. I myself was subject to one of the most vile and infamous frauds, by a commercial house at New York ; a

fraud which, in England, no merchant would have dared to practise.

There is in general a very speculative disposition with the citizens, and the consequence is, that there are great numbers of insolvents. The insolvent, however, is only freed from arrest; his property is always liable for all obligations. To shew the extreme facility of obtaining the benefit of the Insolvent Act, an attorney at Philadelphia, a gentleman of veracity, informed me, that a person applied to him to assist him "in taking the benefit," as it is termed, of the act. The attorney replied, "Nothing is more easy, if you will give up all you possess to your creditors." "Give up!" rejoined the other; "I wish to *take the benefit*. I have four thousand dollars; and there will be no *benefit* in giving that up to my creditors!" The attorney, finding that the man wished to commit both fraud and perjury, refused to act: "But (said he) the fellow obtained the benefit; and went through the act without the least opposition."

Bartering is very common throughout the United States, especially in the country; they term it "making trade." Thus, if a farmer goes to a country shopkeeper with flour, beef, mutton, &c. the common question is—"Will you make trade?" and it generally concludes by an exchange of commodities. This mode in a great degree arises from a want of the circulating medium, which want is severely felt throughout the United States.

I have already stated, that the imports into the United States at present are about eighty millions of dollars in value, whilst the exports are not more than about seventy millions; the balance of trade is, therefore, considerably against that country. The consequence is, that the course of exchange is much against them: at present it is 10 per cent.; therefore any person emigrating to the United States, and being enabled after his arrival to draw bills on England, for every bill of 100*l*. will receive 110*l*. in America. This high rate of exchange operates much in favour of the American manufacturer; it is similar to the levying of an additional duty of 10 per cent.; for every merchant who is desirous of ordering 100*l*. worth of European manufactured articles, must remit 110*l*. to obtain them. The exchange being in this state, is also beneficial to the cotton and other planters, for many persons who are desirous of making remittances to Europe, send cotton, &c. rather than pay the present high premium for bills. Cotton has accordingly sold much higher during this year than it did last; it is even 25 per cent. dearer. Perhaps it may be improper to ascribe the whole of this advance to the present high rate of exchange. I am aware that it is, in some respects, owing to the increase of French cotton manufactories; for the French purchaser now takes three bales of cotton where only three years since he bought but two. In the concluding part of this chapter, I shall exhibit an account of the quantity of cotton shipped in 1821.

from New Orleans, by which it will be perceived that there was exported to, or intended for France, as much cotton as was sent to Great Britain.

It is proper to observe, that New Orleans cotton is more used by the French manufacturer than Upland or Bowed Georgia cotton; and that from the other ports of the United States, the quantity shipped to France is trifling, compared with that exported to Great Britain. It will be observed, that a considerable part of the cotton shipped from New Orleans has been sent to Cowes, Falmouth, Havannah, Pensacola, &c. from whence it was re-shipped to France; about 10,000 bales of cotton were shipped in this way. This plan was adopted, in consequence of a discordance between the governments of France and the United States relative to the basis on which their commercial relations should be founded. The government of the United States is desirous that their vessels should be admitted into the French ports, with cargoes from, and as being the produce of, the United States, on paying the same duties as if those articles were imported in French vessels. In this the government of France very properly refuses to acquiesce. France takes from America the raw or bulky material, whilst America receives from France the manufactured article. Now if France were to allow her commercial relations with the United States to be conducted on the terms which the latter government is desirous to obtain, and that in America no greater duties

were imposed on French vessels with manufactured goods, than on American shipping; all the raw or bulky article would be exported from the United States in their own vessels, and, those vessels being in France, rather than return home empty or in ballast, would take French manufactured articles at a very trifling freight; and by that means completely exclude all French shipping from participating in the trade. The government of Great Britain has entered into a treaty with the United States on these unfavourable terms, which the latter now want to impose upon France. The consequence has been, with respect to Great Britain, that there is not one British vessel employed in the trade, where there are ten Americans.

In the message of the president of the United States, delivered on the 5th of December, 1821, alluding to this subject, he says, "By an act of congress, so much of the several acts which imposed higher duties on foreign vessels, and on the manufactures and produce of foreign countries, when imported into the United States in foreign vessels, than when imported in vessels of the United States, was repealed, on the condition that similar discriminating duties, to the disadvantage of the United States, had likewise been repealed by such nation: every nation was allowed to import its products and manufactures in its own vessels, on the same conditions as if imported in United States vessels; provided like

accommodation were allowed to American vessels by the same foreign powers, each party retaining the right to admit or prohibit certain articles. With relation to the tonnage of vessels, as the products of the United States were generally articles of the first necessity, and of rude materials of great bulk, while the general imports were principally manufactures of less weight and carriage, it was presumed, that this regulation would only retain even a semblance of equality in favour of the United States. The advantage was exclusively on the side of countries exclusively manufacturing, and generally with European powers. An indemnity for proportionate loss in Europe was expected from a trade with the colonies, into which articles forming so large a proportion of the exports of the United States were admitted, but excluded from Europe, except in cases of emergency."

For this part of the speech, the president cannot be complimented for a clear or concise style. Any one, with the least mercantile knowledge, would adopt, even from the facts now stated, an opinion different from that of the president. If the articles which America exports require more tonnage or more vessels than the articles which they receive, the advantage must be entirely, or "exclusively," in favour of the shipping interest of the United States; and the government of France views it in that light. The United States government, in endeavouring to obtain such ad-



vantages, acts very properly, and with due regard to the interest of its own citizens.

The concluding part of this extract, which I have made from the president's speech, alludes to the restrictions imposed by the British government on American shipping in the British West India islands. The British government has wisely determined, that British shipping alone shall supply their West India islands. The Americans, in retaliation, will not allow any British vessels to enter with cargoes from, or to have a clearance for, any port or place from whence they are excluded. They supposed that this measure would have caused the British to open their West India isles for American shipping; but in this they have been disappointed. The British government firmly adheres to the enforcement of the navigation laws; and some of the citizens of the United States have publicly requested their government to rescind the act preventing the entering of British vessels into American ports, coming from the British islands. The government of the United States has certainly injured part of their mercantile interest by thus excluding British vessels; and by the act which enforces such high duties on French ships, and which caused the government of France to retaliate, and impose duties on American vessels tantamount to a prohibition of their entering French ports with their cargoes, the shipping and mercantile interests have suffered in a great degree. The

government of the United States has not yet sufficient weight to impose commercial regulations on the European powers. It is true that, both in a political and commercial point of view, the United States have attained great eminence. Since the treaty of peace in 1782, this empire has so increased in its population, wealth, commerce, agriculture, political consequence, and extent of territory, as to justify us in cherishing an opinion, that in the course of a few generations she may be the first commercial power in the world.

The observations which have thus far been made, respecting the commerce of the United States, may be considered as of general application. It may not, however, be improper, before I conclude this chapter, to take a brief survey of the principal productions of each particular state. This may be of service to many into whose hands this treatise may fall, by directing them, should they be disposed to emigrate, to such parts of the Union as may suit their respective callings.

*New Hampshire.*—In this state there is considerable commerce carried on in the fisheries. Timber for ship-building abounds; and many vessels are constructed in its yards. Most of the articles which are eventually exported from New Hampshire, are sent to Massachusetts; the ports of which are most conveniently situated for the greatest part of the state.

*Vermont.*—The foreign commerce (if it may

be so termed,) from this state, is entirely to the British possessions of Canada. It consists in the exportation, by the Lakes, of articles of provision, also of lumber, iron, nails, &c. This state abounds with excellent iron ore; and there are many forges, furnaces, &c. for the working of that metal. It contains also many of those valuable trees, the sugar maple. In the spring, great numbers of the inhabitants attend to the producing of sugar from the sap of this tree; and it is supposed that an industrious man may make, in about four weeks, five hundred pounds weight. The quality will depend upon his properly boiling it; if properly granulated, it is in every respect equal to the sugar produced from the cane.

*Maine.*—The commerce of this state is chiefly in the fisheries. Ship-building, and a few manufactures, are conducted here. Provisions, lumber, &c. are exported.

*Massachusetts.*—This state has considerable commerce; the amount of exports being nearly one-sixth of that of the whole Union. These consist of nearly all the different articles produced in the Union. There are extensive cotton and woollen manufactures in this state. The Waltham cotton mill is the largest establishment in the country; but there are many of 1500, and even 2000 spindles: besides which, great quantities of shoes, boots, hats, &c. are manufactured, and shipped from this state. In the counties of Plymouth and Bristol, a great quantity of iron ore is raised;

there are therefore forges, furnaces, smitting and rolling mills, &c. to work the article. Many cut-nails, brads, tacks, &c. are manufactured in this state.

*Rhode Island.*—Considerable foreign commerce, both in domestic goods, and in re-exporting foreign articles, is conducted from this state. Provisions, lumber, live stock, &c. are amongst the exports. There are also extensive cotton manufactories, and several wealthy individuals are concerned in them.

*Connecticut.*—Provisions, lumber, live stock, &c. are exported from this state. There are also many cotton manufactories, and some of them very extensive. Woollen manufactories, glass works, powder mills, iron works, &c. are likewise established here.

*New York.*—Nearly one-fifth part of the whole exports of the Union is from this state; we may almost say, from the city of New York itself. They consist of nearly all the different articles produced throughout the Union, excepting only sugar and molasses. There are all sorts of manufactories in this state: cotton and woollen factories, distilleries, breweries, fulling mills, paper mills, hat manufactories, sugar refineries, rope walks, powder mills, oil mills, furnaces, &c. In the western part of the state there are salt works.

*New Jersey.*—The foreign commerce from this state appears trifling, as it is chiefly carried on from the cities of New York and Philadelphia. There are many cotton and woollen manufactories; and

sufficient iron ore could be obtained in this state for the consumption of the whole world: there are, therefore, many forges, furnaces, &c. for the making of bar-iron. There are extensive tanneries; and shoes and boots, to a great extent, are made in this state.

*Pennsylvania.*—The exports from this state are considerable. There are, likewise, manufactories of cotton, woollen, shoes, hats, &c. Considerable quantities of iron are also raised, which are afterwards worked into bars, nails, &c. Pennsylvania is considered as great a manufacturing state as any in the Union.

*Delaware.*—The exports from this state do not appear very extensive, as the chief of the products and manufactured articles are sent to Philadelphia, and the trade from this state to that city is consequently very extensive. There are numbers of flour mills, termed the Brandywine Mills, which are erected on the banks of the Brandywine river, or stream; and it is supposed that about 600,000 bushels of wheat are annually ground by them. It has frequently occurred, that small vessels have come up the stream at flood-tide—their cargoes of wheat have been discharged—they have been loaded some of them with 300 barrels of flour—and have returned with the succeeding ebb. There are cotton mills, manufactories of bolting cloth, &c. fulling mills, paper mills, &c. in this state.

*Maryland.*—The exports from Baltimore, which is situated in this state, are very considerable.

There are cotton and other manufactories in this state. A large quantity of iron ore is also raised, and there are many furnaces, forges, &c. The iron is of an excellent quality, and the articles of hollow ware which are made from it, are considered better than those of Great Britain.

*Virginia.*—The exports from this state consist almost entirely of different articles of cultivation, of which tobacco is the chief. But large quantities of flour and wheat are also exported; and coals and iron ore are raised in abundance.

*North Carolina.*—The exports from this state are nearly similar to those of Virginia. I was informed that a cotton manufactory had been established in the interior of this state; that the proprietor being where cotton was raised, was enabled to purchase the raw article for one-third less than it could be bought in the Eastern States; and that the cotton cloth produced was sold for one-third more than the Eastern manufacturers were able to obtain. The manufactory was chiefly worked by negroes who were too young to attend to field work, and that the proprietor of the mill had merely to provide them with food and clothing. Two or three of the principal workmen in the mill were paid high wages; but, with this exception, I was informed that it was conducted at equally as light an expense as almost any mill or factory in the Union. Here is also iron ore; likewise a mine, which has furnished the mint of the United States with some gold.

*South Carolina.*—The exports from this state are very considerable, chiefly in the article of raw cotton; but it contains very few manufactories. In the interior there is little doubt that mines might be opened, for it is said that there are various sorts of metals, namely, lead, black-lead, copper, iron, silver, gold, and precious stones.

*Georgia.*—The exports from this state are also considerable; cotton is the principal article; but there are few or no manufactories.

*Louisiana.*—The exports from this state, though confined to articles of domestic produce, are likewise considerable. Cotton is the leading article. There are no manufactories; but the boiling or granulating of sugar is carried on extensively.

*Mississippi.*—The exports from this state are not of great magnitude, as the articles of produce are principally sent to the city of New Orleans.

*Ohio, Illinois, Indiana, Kentucky, and Missouri,* are chiefly agricultural states. In the last mentioned, indeed, great quantities of lead are raised; this is so rich, that 100lbs. of ore generally yield 80lbs. of metal. The quantity which might be raised would be sufficient for the consumption of the whole world. Through nearly the whole of the Western States there are salt springs, and salt is manufactured; coals likewise are obtained. In the state of Ohio, there are several cotton and woollen manufactories, glass works, iron founderies, breweries, &c.

## EXPORTS FROM THE UNITED STATES IN 1819.

	<i>Domestic.</i>	<i>Foreign.</i>	<i>Total.</i>
New Hampshire .....	152,487	5072	157,919
Vermont .....	585,596	—	585,596
Massachusetts .....	4,873,992	6,525,921	11,399,913
Rhode Island .....	559,754	721,680	1,281,434
Connecticut.....	437,851	683	438,534
New York .....	8,487,693	5,099,686	8,250,675
New Jersey .....	1,474	—	1,474
Pennsylvania.....	2,919,679	3,374,109	6,293,788
Delaware.....	27,378	2,450	29,828
Maryland .....	3,648,067	2,278,149	5,926,216
District of Columbia .....	990,936	415	991,351
Virginia.....	4,358,784	33,537	4,392,321
North Carolina.....	616,703	1,033	647,396
South Carolina.....	8,014,598	23,6192	8,250,799
Georgia .....	6,241,960	68,474	6,310,434
Ohio .....	405	—	405
Louisiana .....	8,950,921	317,832	9,768,753
Mississippi .....	50,456	450	50,906
Michigan Territory .....	27,745	—	27,745
<b>Total dollars.....</b>	<b>50,976,826</b>	<b>19,165,663</b>	<b>70,142,521</b>

## EXPORTS FROM THE UNITED STATES IN 1820.

Maine .....	1,082,568	25,463	1,108,031
New Hampshire .....	223,082	17,718	240,800
Vermont .....	935,869	—	935,869
Massachusetts .....	3,861,435	7,147,487	11,008,922
Rhode Island.....	569,902	502,860	1,072,762
Connecticut.....	415,830	6,191	421,931
New York .....	8,250,675	4,912,569	13,163,244
New Jersey.....	20,531	—	20,531
Pennsylvania.....	2,948,879	2,794,670	5,743,549
Delaware.....	89,498	—	89,498
Maryland .....	4,681,598	1,927,766	6,609,364
District of Columbia .....	1,156,468	48,447	1,204,915
Virginia.....	4,549,137	8,820	4,557,957
North Carolina.....	807,944	375	808,319
South Carolina.....	8,690,539	192,401	8,882,940
Georgia .....	6,525,013	696,10	6,594,623
Ohio .....	2,218	—	2,218
Louisiana .....	7,242,415	353,742	75,96,157
Mississippi .....	96,636	—	96,636
Michigan Territory.....	73,408	—	73,408
<b>Total dollars .....</b>	<b>51,683,640</b>	<b>18,008,029</b>	<b>69,691,669</b>



In the year 1819, the exports exceeded those of 1819 and 1820, being to the amount of 73,854,437 dollars. The proportionate distribution of these exports is as follows. About one-half is sent to Great Britain; one-sixth to France; to Spain about four millions of dollars; the Netherlands nearly equal to Spain; and the residue to Germany, Russia, &c. In 1790, the exports did not exceed six millions of dollars. In 1795 they amounted to forty-eight millions. In 1800, to seventy-one millions. 1807 was the year of commercial climax, in which the exports amounted to one hundred and eight millions. 1808 was the year of the embargo; from thence to 1815, when the treaty of peace was signed between Great Britain and the United States, the exporting of produce, &c, was greatly interrupted, excepting in the year 1810, when the exports amounted to about sixty-seven millions of dollars. 1816, the exports were eighty-two millions; and it is probable, that in the year 1821 the exports has exceeded eighty millions of dollars.—The domestic exports may be rated as follows. Of agriculture or cultivation, three-fourths; timber, ashes, &c. one-eighth; of the fisheries, one-fourteenth; the remainder in manufactures.

From this brief, but comprehensive statement, the commercial prosperity of the United States may in some measure be appreciated; but years of *peace* will still better determine her stability and resources.

# EXPORTS FROM NEW ORLEANS OF COTTON AND TOBACCO, FROM OCT. 1820, TO OCT. 1821.

Of Cotton, to Great Britain .....	49,521
Of Cotton, to France direct .....	39,694
Intended for France, but shipped to	
Havannah, Pensacola, Cowes, &c. ....	8,822
	<hr/> 48,516
To Antwerp and other ports .....	3,121
To ports of the United States .....	35,717
	<hr/>
	Bags 136,875
 Tobacco to England .....	981
France .....	867
Amsterdam and Rotterdam..	909
Hamburgh.....	922
Bremen.....	2,066
Gibraltar.....	3,777
Spain, &c. ....	2,424
Ports of the United States...	14,409
	<hr/>
	26,355 Hogsheads.

The imports into the United States amounts to above eighty millions; and the following are nearly the proportions which the different countries supply:

From Great Britain, one half, or ....	40 Millions.
From France .....	15
The Northern powers of Europe,	
Germany, Prussia, Russia, &c. ...	7
Holland, Spain, and Italy .....	11
Dominions of Portugal .....	1
China and the East Indies .....	5
All other countries .....	1

Dollars 80 Millions.

The tonnage employed in the foreign commerce of the United States for 1820 to 1821, amounted to 940,500 tons.

The amount of goods imported, in 1821, was 62,586,724 dollars; which, excepting 4,559,825 dollars, were imported in the shipping of that country.

The amount of goods exported, of the growth and produce of the United States, was 43,671,894; of foreign articles exported, 20,710,700; making a total of exports to the value of 64,382,594 dollars: the whole of which, excepting 9,206,622 dollars, were conveyed in vessels belonging to the United States.

It has been stated in a preceding part of this chapter, that between the government of the United States and that of France, some discordance had existed, respecting the basis on which their commercial relations should be founded. Since that paragraph was written, this discordance, after subsisting upwards of two years, has been done away, a commercial treaty having been concluded between these powers; and perhaps American sagacity was never more conspicuously displayed, than in the construction and arrangement of its various articles, which I now lay before the reader.—

“Convention of navigation and commerce between the United States of America, and his Majesty, the King of France and Navarre.

“Article 1st.—Articles of the growth, pro-

duce, or manufacture of the United States of America, imported into France in vessels of the United States, shall pay an additional duty, not exceeding twenty francs (about 16s. 6d. sterling) per ton of merchandise, over and above the duties paid on the like articles, also of the growth, produce, or manufacture of the United States, when imported in French vessels.

“Article 2d.—Articles of the growth, produce, or manufacture of France, imported into the United States in French vessels, shall pay an additional duty, not exceeding three dollars and seventy-five cents (about 16s. 10d. sterling) per ton of merchandise, over and above the duties collected upon the like articles, also of the growth, produce, or manufacture of France, when imported in vessels of the United States.

“Article 3d.—No discriminating duty shall be levied upon the productions of the soil or industry of France, imported in French bottoms into the ports of the United States for transit or re-exportation. Nor shall any such duties be levied upon the productions of the soil or industry of the United States, imported in vessels of the United States, into the ports of France, for transit or re-exportation.”

Article 4th, states or specifies what shall be considered a ton of merchandise.

“Article 5th.—The duties of tonnage, light money, pilotage, port charges, brokerage, and all other duties upon foreign shipping, over and above

those paid by the national shipping in the two countries respectively, other than those specified in articles 1 and 2 of the present convention, shall not exceed in France, for vessels of the United States, five francs per ton of the vessels, American register; nor for vessels of France in the United States, 94 cents per ton of the vessels, French passport."

Article 6th, relates to the arrest of sailors who may have deserted from vessels of either power, when in the ports of the other.

"Article 7th.—The present temporary convention shall be in force for two years, from the first day of October next, (1822,) and even after the expiration of that term, until the conclusion of a definitive treaty, or until one of the parties shall have declared its intention to renounce it; which declaration shall be made at least six months beforehand. And in case the present arrangement should remain without such declaration of its discontinuance by either party, the extra duties specified in the 1st and 2d Articles shall, from the expiration of the said two years, be on both sides diminished by one-fourth of their whole amount, and afterwards by one-fourth of the said amount from year to year, so long as neither party shall have declared the intention of renouncing it, as above stated.

"Article 8th.—The present convention shall be ratified on both sides, and the ratifications shall be exchanged within one year from the date here-

of, or sooner if possible. But the execution of the said convention shall commence in both countries on the 1st of October next, and shall be effective, even in case of non-ratification, for all such vessels as may have sailed *bona fide* for the ports of either nation, in the confidence of its being in force. In faith whereof, the respective plenipotentiaries have signed this present convention, and have thereto affixed their seals, at the city of Washington, this 24th day of June, A. D. 1822.

(Signed,)

“JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

“G. HYDE DE NEUVILLE.”

“Separate Article.—It is agreed, that the extra duties specified in the first and second articles of this convention, shall be levied only upon the excess of value of the merchandise imported, over the value of the merchandise exported in the same vessel, upon the same voyage: so that if the value of the articles exported, shall equal or exceed that of the articles imported in the same vessel, (not including, however, articles imported for transit or re-exportation,) no such extra duties shall be levied, only upon the amount of the difference of their value. This article, however, shall take effect only in case of ratification on both sides, and not until two months after the exchange of the ratifications. But the refusal to ratify this article on either side, shall in no

wise affect or impair the ratification or the validity of the preceding articles of this convention."

This treaty has been already ratified by the president of the United States.

Prior to this period, these republicans had entered into a commercial treaty with Great Britain, highly advantageous to their shipping interest. It has been already mentioned in this work, that the basis of their treaty with the British government, is, that vessels of both powers, importing goods, the produce or manufacture of the respective countries, shall be admitted on equal or reciprocal terms or duties. Thus, an American vessel entering a British port, with produce, &c. the growth of the United States, pays no higher duty than a British vessel. The republican government has, undoubtedly, obtained great advantages by this treaty, for where one British vessel is employed in the carrying trade between the two countries, there are ten Americans. It was not reasonable to suppose it could be otherwise. Can we possibly expect an American will ship his bulky articles of produce in a British vessel, when an American one would take it at the same freight? Besides, it frequently occurs, that the owner of the produce is himself a ship-owner, and then he certainly will employ his own vessels to export his produce. After American vessels have delivered their cargoes in Great Britain, they will of course be glad to accept of freight for British manufactured articles upon almost any terms,

rather than return in ballast. The British government, by its commercial treaty with the United States, acted with a great degree of liberality; but it was a degree of liberality by which the interest of the British ship-owner was abandoned, and the maritime importance of America advanced.

The government of France appears to have been aware, that if goods were admitted to be imported into France, in American vessels, upon the same terms or duties as in French ones, it would be almost tantamount to the preventing of French shipping enjoying any of the carrying trade. The articles 1st and 2d of the commercial convention between France and the United States are therefore wisely framed to protect the French shipping interest; and to which the citizens of the United States could not fairly make any objections. In the 6th article, American sagacity is apparent; for should the French government be occupied by any internal dissension, or otherwise, then it is probable that in a few years the Americans, through the neglect of the French, will obtain what they are so desirous of—the admission of their vessels upon the same terms as those of France.

In the separate article, the French negotiator appears to have lost sight of the shipping interest of his country altogether. All the advantages which are to be derived by rendering it beneficial to the importer to receive his goods in French vessels, are lost by that clause; for, if no higher duties are to be charged on United States' vessels



importing produce, provided they take back an equal value of French manufactured articles to what they brought, we may reasonably expect that all French manufactured articles, &c. will be exported in American bottoms; for it will be advantageous for them to convey merchandise from France to the United States, even without any charge, as by that means they will be exempted from the additional tonnage duty. Therefore it is probable that the French shipping will not be employed in the carrying trade between the two countries, if this clause be ratified.

In all the commercial treaties which the negotiators of the United States have entered into with foreign powers, they have exhibited peculiar marks of wisdom. A constant attendance to the commercial interest of their country is apparent in all their actions; whilst in Europe, many of the statesmen consider it derogatory from their dignity to receive advice from merchants, or to attend to matters of plain calculation relative to commerce. It is different in the United States, which is a plain unostentatious government, to which every citizen may give advice: the rulers are, therefore, well acquainted with all the wants and desires of the people; and considering that they act only for the benefit of those by whom they are delegated, it is seldom or never, in their foreign treaties, that the interest of their country is compromised.

It would be an act of injustice to the reader, and also to the country which this work is in-

tended to describe, to close this chapter without stating the following particulars. Since the foregoing sheets were in the hands of the printer, advices have been received from the United States, announcing that the prospects of those engaged in the cotton manufactories are extremely flattering. They are increasing in a very rapid manner. Nearly all the mills throughout the Union are at work; and the price obtained for twist and cloth is such, that the manufacturer is rapidly increasing in wealth.

## CHAP. XI.

## SOIL,—CLIMATE,—ANIMAL AND VEGETABLE PRODUCTIONS.

THE soil, climate, and natural productions of this immense country, must of course be various, there being so great a difference in the latitude between one state and another; and the necessary consequence, resulting from such a difference, is still farther increased by the more northern states being encircled with vast lakes, or inland seas. In winter, these lakes are partially frozen over; and the surface of Canada, and the land, which in this part of the world is supposed to stretch nearly to the north pole, becomes one entire sheet of snow or ice. The wind coming over this frozen tract, an intensity of cold is produced in the north-eastern states, of which few who have not felt its effects can form an adequate conception. In winter, it is not at all uncommon in these states, and those bordering on the lakes, for the thermometer of Fahrenheit to fall many degrees below zero. In the Western States, the winters are more mild. In the Southern States they are warmer; but the chilling effects of the cold north-west wind is sometimes felt in South Carolina. In Charleston,

South Carolina, Dr. Mitchell mentions, that on February 7th, 1747, the frost was so intense, that a person having carried two quart bottles of hot water to bed, in the morning they were split to pieces, and the water was converted into solid lumps of ice. At that time, almost all the orange and olive trees were destroyed.

It is supposed by some, that even in Florida, coffee could not be successfully cultivated; though, from the nature of the soil, and the latitude in which it is situated, it would naturally be expected to flourish. The warmth of the sea-water, which separates Cuba from the continent of North America, completely tempers the chilling blast, and leaves that island one of the most fertile and productive on the globe. In January, 1821, I sensibly felt the effects of the cold north-west wind at New Orleans, which is situated in the latitude of 30°.

In the Eastern States, in the spring, the climate is very various, and the transition from heat to cold is sudden. I have experienced a difference of 40° in twenty-four hours. The Middle and Southern States are likewise subject to great changes. Jefferson says, that in Virginia the mercury of Fahrenheit has been known to descend from 92 to 47 in the short space of thirteen hours. The climate in the Western States is not so variable, but still it is not so settled as in Europe. The oppressive and sickly heat of the Southern States in summer, are well known, having been too often and too fatally experienced. The Middle States

are not quite so oppressive as the Southern ones, but the inhabitants of the most northerly states experience an excessive and oppressive heat in summer. In the city of New York, at this season, the thermometer will range from 88 to 100 in the shade in the day-time, and the night will not be much more moderate. These oppressive and sultry nights are extremely disagreeable; it is almost impossible to sleep; this, succeeding a day distressing by its heat, when the frame has become languid from profuse perspiration, cannot fail of having the effect of greatly injuring the health. In the day-time, working men will go to the pumps to drink cold water. I have witnessed the death of no less than four from this cause in one day, at the city of New York. In the Western States, the heat is not so excessive; notwithstanding, it will be found disagreeable to those who have been long accustomed to the climate of Great Britain. When it rains in summer, it is sometimes like the pouring of a waterspout: the thunder and lightning are awful and alarming; fire seems to be mingled with rain, and to be running along the ground.

In autumn, although the heat may be great during the day, the nights become more moderate, (I am speaking of all but the Southern States) and the inhabitants then enjoy refreshing repose.

The climate of the Southern States, however, is not agreeable or even safe for strangers, until the months of November and December. There is one part of the year which is termed in the United

**States, the Indian Summer; this commences in the month of October, and continues for several weeks. The trees then are covered with beautiful foliage, of every tint or hue from the light green to the deep copper colour. At this time, a moderate and pleasant warmth is experienced. The sun sets with mildness and effulgence; all inanimate nature is seen with a placid aspect, for the breeze at this time in general is gentle: in short, perhaps in the whole world there is not a country or clime more attractive than some parts of the United States at this time. Indeed, I have experienced very pleasant weather in the Eastern States during the months of September, October, November, and December.**

**The country as yet being nearly an immense forest or wilderness, the quantity of putrescent vegetable matter is exceedingly great: the excessive heat of a summer's sun acting upon this noxious matter, causes the air to be filled with miasma; a poison is thus imperceptibly inhaled, which produces disease. As the country becomes more cleared, the climate will be more salubrious. This may be inferred from the history of other countries under similar circumstances. Quebec in Canada is in the same latitude as Paris; and the description of the climate of this latter city in winter, during the fourth and fifth centuries, differs but little from that of a winter at present in Quebec, notwithstanding the remarkable variation which these places now exhibit as to their degrees of temperature.**

Although the intense cold of some of the states in winter is remarkably disagreeable, yet it must be allowed, that the inhabitants at this season enjoy most excellent health. With most winds, there is a beautiful cloudless sky; the heavens display a clearness and brightness which in England we can seldom view. When rain or snow is approaching, about twelve hours previously the sky becomes overcast; but after it has ceased raining, the heavens soon assume their wonted clearness.

In the Western States, and in some parts of all the others, the soil is so very rich, that it may be said to teem with fatness; and there is no part of the world where a greater or more dense population could be supported than in these districts. The soil in some places is inexhaustible. Nor is this surprising, for perhaps since the creation of the world, certainly for thousands of years, the foliage that has fallen, and great quantities of other vegetable productions, have been decaying. Even large trees yield to the never-failing effects of time. These causes have produced a very rich soil; and more especially in those regions where the chilling winds have not the effect as in most of the Atlantic states.

The Eastern, or, as they more frequently termed, the Northern States, are rather rocky. In the Southern ones very few stones are found; in some it would be impossible to find any even as large as a pebble. This is particularly the case

on the banks of the Mississippi river for near three hundred miles from the confluence of that river with the sea, or gulf of Mexico. The land there has been formed by trees or floating timber, together with the earthy particles which are carried down by the water. When the Mississippi rises in spring, the quantity of trees or timber which is floated down is beyond the conception of any who have not witnessed it. At this time, for many hundreds of miles, the river is nearly full. Many of these trees are lodged on the banks; but those which are not so lodged, are carried by the stream to some of the mouths or outlets, where, becoming water-soaked, they finally sink. On these trees other timbers are in time deposited, and the water of that river containing much earthy matter, the mud settles upon the timber, on which reeds begin to grow, and to these also the earthy particles adhere, till, in process of time, the margin forms banks to the river. This river, in several of its many outlets, has increased more than a mile since its first discovery.

We may naturally suppose, that land formed in this manner must be extremely rich; even the exhausting effects of the sugar-cane, tobacco, &c. cause no difference in its productive nature. The clover, which vegetates there luxuriantly, is too rank to serve as proper food for cattle; no artificial soil can be made richer. The sugar-cane flourishes in the United States in latitudes south



of thirty-one and a half. The soil of the Southern States and territory is well adapted for the growth or production of cotton, rice, indigo, tobacco, &c. Cotton is cultivated from thirty-one to thirty-six degrees of north latitude. In the Middle States, excellent wheat is produced, and tobacco and cotton are likewise successfully cultivated in some of them. The Western States yield a similar product to the Middle ones.

In the chapter entitled "Advice to Emigrants," I have mentioned prairie, or open land. The land, for about four hundred and fifty miles from the Atlantic, is covered with trees, excepting where the rock prevents its growth; beyond that, to the westward, the prairie land commences, and continues to the rocky mountains. The soil of some of this prairie land is excellent; but the native Americans consider it of little value, in consequence of there being no timber for fencing, building, &c. In some parts, however, there is excellent stone not far from the surface, which would answer for building; and there is good marl or clay, which would answer for bricks; and in a very few years, if trees were planted, they would be sufficiently large for fencing, for the growth of timber is very quick in that country. Coals abound; and when the United States become better settled, I am of opinion that this prairie land will be highly esteemed. In Pennsylvania, some parts of New Jersey, and the western part of the State of New York, there is a good soil, and grain

of all sorts is easily cultivated. But from the various circumstances which have been mentioned, and from others which will be introduced, it is not probable that many emigrants from England will be disposed to settle in any state to the northward of New York. Hence, as persons of this description are those for whose direction and information this work is principally designed, a detailed account of the various soils, which may be found in these extensive regions, can excite but little interest. Nevertheless, as numerous individuals may possibly wish to know something respecting the powers of nature in every part, it may not be improper to give a brief sketch of the soil, productions, and capabilities, of these vast territories. In taking this survey I shall commence with the state of

*New York.*—In the western part of this state, viz, in the counties of Genessee, Niagara, Cattaraugus, and Chautaughque, there are millions of acres of excellent land. Some of this land is so rich, that wheat cannot at first be cultivated. It is requisite to take off a few crops of Indian corn, to impoverish it. On Long Island, there is very good land, either for grazing, or for the production of grain; and its vicinity to the city of New York is of peculiar advantage to the farmer.

In the state of *New Jersey*, on the banks of the rivers and creeks, there are many small tracts of good land; and although one-fourth of the whole is unfit for cultivation, yet there are some as

fine farms here as in any portion of the Union. One advantage is, that a foreigner is allowed to possess land in this state the same as a native citizen, which is not uniformly the case. In many parts of this state, the land is well adapted for grazing. On the river Delaware, there is a considerable tract of land termed Salt Meadow, affording heavy crops of grass for hay.

*Pennsylvania.*—There is a great quantity of good land in this state, particularly in the counties of Lancaster, Cumberland, York, and Franklin: nearly all the land on the banks or borders of the Susquehannah is good. There is likewise a considerable tract of unsettled land in this state, which is an excellent soil, viz. on the borders of the Alleghany river; and indeed it is all considered good land between that river and lake Erie.

*Delaware.*—There are considerable tracts of good land in this state, particularly in Kent county. In some of the other counties, the soil is too light; but the wheat produced in this state is highly esteemed. There is likewise excellent land in this state, for grazing.

*Maryland.*—It cannot be said that there is much good land in this state. In the interior, beyond the first ridge of mountains, there is a valley of about twelve miles broad, in which there is some excellent land. Wheat and tobacco are both cultivated in this state.

*Virginia.*—On the banks or borders of most of the rivers, there is excellent land. In the interior of

this state, the climate is not very oppressive in summer, nor intensely cold in winter. Between the Blue Ridge mountains, the Peaked Ridge, and the North Mountains, some good land may be met with, which would produce excellent grain and clover. The wheat of this state is in great repute, as is also the tobacco.

*North Carolina.*—For nearly one hundred miles from the sea-coast, the land is rather barren, the soil in general being sandy; but beyond that distance there are considerable tracts of good land, with an agreeable climate. Wheat and other sorts of grain, tobacco, and also cotton, are cultivated in this state.

*Ohio.*—Throughout the whole state of Ohio, in every county, good land is to be met with; on the borders of the rivers, the soil is the richest. The climate is preferable to any of the Atlantic states.

*Illinois.*—The whole of the state of Illinois may be said to contain a rich soil. Some land in this state is low, and liable to be flooded at certain seasons of the year. A considerable part of this state is composed of open or prairie land, the soil of which in some places is excellent.

*Indiana.*—The remarks relative to the state of Illinois will also apply to this.

*Kentucky.*—The land in this state is as fine and rich as can be found in any part of the Union. The exhausting effects of tobacco but little impair the soil, on which account this article, Indian corn, &c.

are very successfully cultivated in this extensive territory.

*Tennessee.*—In this state there is a great portion of fine rich land, producing grain, tobacco, cotton, &c.

*Missouri.*—The quality of the land in this state cannot be excelled either in the United States, or perhaps in any part of the world. The produce is grain, &c.

*South Carolina.*—The soil of this state, within 100 miles from the sea-coast, is a sort of blackish sand. Near the rivers are considerable rice plantations, and cotton likewise is cultivated in different parts. In the upper country there are many valuable tracts of fertile land, in which wheat, tobacco, cotton, &c. may be cultivated.

*Georgia.*—In this state the soil does not much differ from that of South Carolina. In the upper country, or that which is at the greatest distance from the sea, the soil is well adapted for grain. On the coast there are several islands, in which is produced that very valuable cotton termed Sea Island. Throughout this state, cotton, tobacco, rice, &c. are cultivated.

*Louisiana.*—There is much diversity in the nature of the soil throughout this state. A great part is formed from the trees and sediment which have come down the Mississippi river. Where the water, by embankments, can be prevented from overflowing the land, the soil is extremely rich. There are, however, in this state, swamps, pine-barrens,

&c. to a considerable extent; but there are fully six millions of acres of land fit for cultivation. The articles produced in this state are sugar, cotton, rice, tobacco, &c.

*Mississippi.*—In this state the soil of some parts differs very materially from that of others; but the lands on or near the rivers Tombigbee, Tennessee, Yazoo, and Mississippi, cannot be excelled. Cotton, rice, tobacco, and grain, may be produced in this state.

*Alabama.*—The soil in this state is considered so very rich, that the Americans, not without reason, boast of its fertility. On and near the Alabama and Tombigbee rivers, there is excellent land; also on the Black Warrior and Bear Creek. On the head waters of the Escambia there is likewise good land. In some parts of this state the sugar-cane would undoubtedly thrive. Cotton, rice, tobacco, &c. are now produced.

With respect to timber, nature has been very bountiful to the United States. There are more than thirty different sorts of oaks, many of them very useful, and furnishing excellent timber; but the live oak which grows in Florida and Louisiana far excels any other. For ship timber, there is none which can be compared to it. Besides oak, there are different sorts of cedar, locust, cherry, chestnut, walnut, elm, sycamore, maple, sugar-maple, beech, ash, satin-wood, papau, hickory, dog-wood, birch, gum, fir or pines, paccan,

poplar, cucumber, laurel, tulip, cabbage-tree, &c. There are also mulberry trees in the south, from which I have occasionally taken the wild silkworm. There are different sorts of wild French trees, namely, cherry, peach, plum, apple, &c. and the vine grows wild in every state of the Union. I am of opinion, that if some of the American wild vines were properly cultivated, they would produce a grape larger and richer than any at present known. The orange also is sometimes found in Florida and Louisiana. In some parts, trees grow to an amazing size and height; it is not uncommon to meet with them twenty and even thirty feet in circumference in the Western States.

I should consider the sugar maple as the most valuable tree in the country. It is found in every latitude from thirty-six to forty-two degrees. The sap or saccharine liquor which this tree yields, will, if properly boiled, produce sugar in every respect equal to any obtained from the cane. This sap or liquor is procured by tapping, or making an incision in the tree about three feet in height from the ground, where a sort of spout is introduced into the opening: a barrel is then placed, to receive the sap which exudes; and as much liquor is often obtained from one tree, as will produce ten or twelve pounds of sugar. Nor is the tree in the least injured by this process; on the following year, if again tapped, it will yield perhaps more sap than in the pre-

ceding one. These trees are generally tapped in the month of February, on a frosty day. From this source alone, if properly managed, the whole population of the United States could be supplied with sugar; and I have no doubt that they could also furnish all Europe with the article. The time is not far distant, when the producing of sugar from this tree will yield great wealth to the cultivator.

There are many of the smaller trees or shrubs indigenous to the country, such as the hazel, which produces a nut not much dissimilar to the filbert, blackberries, dewberries, raspberries, whortleberries, cranberries, &c. There are also wild oats, wild rye, wild barley, wild hop, wild pea, and a variety of large wild grasses, which, if properly cultivated, might yield a grain equal to any that is now in general use. On the first settlement of the country, there were found with the Indians, tobacco, maize, potatoes, pumpkins, cymplings, squashes, &c.; and as the apple and several other fruit trees were natural to the country, and nearly all sorts of grain were found to be indigenous, we cannot but suppose they may be cultivated to advantage. The apple in the United States is more finely flavoured than in any part of Europe; and the wheat of America makes most excellent flour.

Of the animal tribes, the United States furnish a great variety. Jefferson mentions seventy-four species peculiar to North America; but I should conceive there are more than one hundred. Of



these, the mammoth, which at some remote period has existed there, is a cause of universal astonishment. The unwieldy elephant, before the discovery of the skeleton of the mammoth, was considered as the largest land animal which a creating Power had formed to inhabit this world. But the mammoth has evidently been an animal as much superior in bulk to the elephant, as this animal is to the ox. Some remains of this huge beast, the mammoth, are continually starting into notice in different parts of the United States. That it has lived, is beyond all doubt; and our assurances seem to be equally unequivocal, that it exists no longer. It is now a subject of inquiry with the naturalist, on what sort of food it existed, and to what climate it was adapted; but these points appear to be involved in much obscurity. There is an entire skeleton of a mammoth in Peale's museum at Philadelphia; this was discovered in the year 1801, in Ulster county, New York. The remnants of this monstrous animal, now frequently found, are chiefly on the banks of the Ohio.

The largest living animal discovered in America by the Europeans was the buffalo, weighing from one thousand to eighteen hundred pounds. Besides the buffalo, is the bear, elk, red and fallow deer, wolf, wild cat, glutton, beaver, badger, otter, red and grey fox, hedgehog, water rat, weasel, flying, grey, red, and ground squirrel, opossum, skunk, &c. &c. The wild animals in the United States are not so ferocious as those

in Europe: this remark also applies to the European domesticated ones.

The birds in the United States have a most lovely and beautiful plumage. Some are adorned with feathers of the brightest blue, and others of a dazzling red; whilst the yellow bird, or linnet, is nearly equal in plumage to the canary. There are, however, but few of them which enliven the forests with their melody. The birds peculiar to the country are, eagles of different sorts, turkey-buzzards in the south, turkeys, American partridges, or quails, (which are so numerous, particularly in the Western Country, that they may be seen in flocks containing many thousands, so that a person may sometimes shoot two hundred in an hour,) American pheasants, woodcocks, snipes, pigeons, hawks, owls, paroquets, blue jays, woodpeckers, king-fishers, blackbirds, robins, (this is a bird with a red breast, about the size of an English thrush,) larks, turtle-doves, mocking birds, humming birds, &c. The mocking bird is a little above the size of an English sky-lark, and nearly of the same colour. This bird will acquire or imitate the note of any other which it hears. It is undoubtedly the first feathered songster in the United States, and is but seldom found beyond the latitude of 39° north. There are numbers of water birds, such as pelican, goose, heron, crane, teal, duck, &c. &c.

Some of the birds are remarkable for poisoning their young; but this is only done if they

are engaged or confined. The robin is one of the birds thus noticed. If the young be taken, and placed in a cage where the parent birds can discover them, they will tend upon and feed them for a season; but after the lapse of a few days, or when the young are fledged, the old ones appear very uneasy, and endeavour to discover some way by which they may escape. If, however, they perceive that there is no hope of accomplishing their purpose, they procure for them some sort of berry which is an infallible poison; apparently disdaining the thought that their offspring should be slaves.

Among the multitude of birds which inhabit the forests of North America, there is one, which, from its surprising singularity, deserves particular attention; this is the humming bird, a species of which, on account of its smallness, is called by the French *l'oiseau mouche*, or the fly-bird. The beak of this bird is long, and pointed like a needle; and its claws are not thicker than a common pin. Upon its head is a tuft of black feathers, of incomparable beauty. Its breast is of a rose colour, and its belly white as milk. The back, wings, and tail, are grey, bordered with silver, and streaked with the brightest gold. The down which covers all the plumage of this lovely creature, gives it so delicate a cast, that it resembles a velvet flower, whose beauty fades at the slightest touch.

The spring is the only season for surveying

this charming bird to advantage. Its nest, perched on the middle of a bough, is covered on the outside with a grey and greenish moss, and the inside is lined with a very soft down, gathered from yellow flowers. This nest is half an inch in depth, and about an inch in diameter. There are never found more than two eggs in it, each about the size of a very small pea. Many attempts have been made to rear the young ones, but every effort has hitherto proved abortive; in a state of confinement they have rarely lived more than two or three weeks.

The humming bird lives entirely on the juice of flowers, fluttering from one to another like the bee, which, in activity, it much resembles. Sometimes it buries itself in the calix of the largest flowers. Its flight produces a buzzing noise like that of a spinning wheel. When tired, it alights on the nearest tree or stake, and, after resting a few minutes, flies again to the flowers. Notwithstanding its weakness, it does not appear timid, as it will suffer a person to approach it within eight or ten feet.

But with all their exterior beauty, these birds are quarrelsome, passionate, and vindictive. They are frequently seen fighting with each other with great fury and obstinate courage. The strokes which they give with their beaks are so sudden and quick, that they are not distinguishable by the eye. Their wings flutter with so much agility, that they seem not to move at all. In most of

their exploits they are rather heard than seen; and the noise resembles that of a sparrow.

In pursuing their daily tasks, they manifest much impatience, for on coming near a flower, if they find it faded and withered, they instantly tear the leaves asunder; and the precipitation with which they peck it, has been adduced as a proof of the rage with which they are animated. Towards the end of the summer, thousands of flowers may be seen stripped of their leaves by these infuriated creatures. It may, however, be doubted whether what is thus denominated resentment and passion, is on the whole any thing more than the effect of hunger, at a season when food becomes scarce, rather than the result of a destructive instinct.

The American rivers and lakes abound with fish. Their trout are equal in flavour to the British, and much larger. The quantity of shad and mackarel which are caught is extremely great: these fish are larger and finer flavoured than those of Europe. In the Mississippi there is a species called cat-fish, some of which weigh one hundred pounds each. Alligators have been caught there twenty feet long. Sturgeons are very common in Hudson's river, but many think it is a fish not worth cooking. So many fish may be found in every river, that the waters of America may be said to teem with life. Their oysters are both excellent and numerous. The Blue Point oyster of New York excels any other in the world.

The woods and marshes abound with reptiles, some of which are remarkably venomous. The hog, however, destroys multitudes of these dangerous creatures without sustaining any inconvenience; and as this animal rapidly increases in the country, as it becomes more settled, these terrifying neighbours will disappear.

Among the numerous reptiles which infest the forests of America, there is no one that claims more attention than the rattlesnake, which, from the acuteness of its poison, is surveyed with terror both by animals and by man. Its size is very indefinite, much depending upon age, situation, and food. Catesby says, that the largest he ever saw "measured about eight feet in length, and weighed between eight and nine pounds. It was discovered while sliding into a dwelling-house." The head of the rattlesnake is rather large, somewhat flat on the upper part, and of a triangular form. The poisonous fangs are placed in two longitudinal rows in the roof of the mouth, the largest standing foremost. They are usually fourteen in number. Each of these contains a small passage, through which the poison is thrown from a bag in the jaw, and injected into the wound; should it enter a vein or artery, it always proves mortal.

To warn mankind and all animals of its approach, this dreadful creature emits a disagreeable smell, and is furnished by nature with a rattle, which, as it moves, keeps an incessant noise, that

can be heard at some distance. This consists of a moveable apparatus, of a horny texture, connected with a greater or less number of joints. By the number of these joints, some assert that the age of the snake may be ascertained, which, if true, furnishes an inference, that it naturally lives to a great age, as in some of this species the joints amount to forty or fifty, for which so many years have been assigned. The Indians believe that the number of joints is determined by that of the human victims which have suffered death from their fangs!

From experiments made in Carolina by Captain Hall, and recorded in the *Philosophical Transactions*, it appears, that a rattlesnake of about four feet long, being fastened to a stake driven into the ground, bit three dogs. The first died in a quarter of a minute; the second, which was bitten a short time afterwards, died in about two hours in convulsions; and the third, which was bitten about half an hour afterwards, died also in about three hours. Four days after this, another dog was bitten, which died in half a minute; and then another, which expired in about four minutes. A cat which was bitten was found dead on the next day. Eight days after this, a frog was bitten, which died in two minutes, and a chicken of three months old, which died in three minutes. A common black snake, about three feet long, was then produced, which was healthy and vigorous. An encounter ensued, and they bit each other, so that the rattlesnake was observed to bleed. They

were then separated, and in about eight minutes the black snake died, but the rattlesnake shewed no signs of indisposition. Last of all, to try whether this creature could poison itself, it was irritated to bite itself. The experiment succeeded; and the animal died in less than twelve hours. The poison is of a greenish colour, and the larger fangs, in a full-grown rattlesnake, are about half an inch in length.

Both men and animals bitten by the rattlesnake expire in extreme agonies. The tongue swells to an enormous size; the blood turns black; all the extremities become cold; gangrene ensues; and death speedily takes place.

The remedies commonly applied are,—the *polygala seneca*, employed as a decoction, and applied in fomentation as hot as can be borne: sometimes scarification, or cauterizing the wound with a burning iron, if immediate in the application, is attended with success; but in either case, if the situation of the wound will allow, ligatures are necessary, to retard the circulation of the venom through the system: but that on which the Indians of Virginia and Carolina chiefly rely is, a small tuberous root which they carry with them in a dried state, and which, on being bitten, they chew, swallowing the juice, and applying some to the wound. In some instances, where the bite has been slight, they suck the wound immediately, and this has been attended with success.

The rattlesnake is viviparous, producing its



young, generally about twelve in number, in the month of June, which by September grow to the length of about twelve inches. The parent protects them from external harm in the same way as the common viper, by opening its mouth, into which they enter and are swallowed, remaining in this retreat until the danger disappears.

In the less inhabited parts of America rattlesnakes abound, but in the neighbourhood of populous places they are nearly exterminated. None are found farther north than the mountains near Lake Champlain, but they infest South America so far as Brazil. They prefer lonely situations, such as woods and lofty hills, especially where the strata are rocky or chalky. The pass near Niagara abounds with them. During summer they are generally found in pairs, but in winter multitudes associate together under ground, whence they creep out, on the return of warm weather, in a feeble and languid state.

The number and variety of insects throughout the country are incalculable; but of late years these have considerably diminished. Many of those which remain are exceedingly troublesome, among which the moscheto holds a distinguished rank. But the character of this insect is too well known to need any description. Locusts, crickets, and some others, make an incessant noise during the summer and autumn, that to the ear of a stranger is extremely disagreeable.

But no noise which these creatures are capa-

ble of making, is half so disturbing as that which the "clamorous frog" occasions. This frog is of a greenish colour, with numerous ocellate spots, surrounded with a yellowish ring. This species is smaller than the real green frog, but in its general habits it bears a strong resemblance to that creature. It is a native of North America, frequents rivulets, and ditches containing water, and is so strong and vigorous, that it is said to be capable of leaping five or six yards at one bound. In the spring and beginning of summer, the peculiar sound which it makes is thought to indicate the approach of rain. When alive, its ears are of a shining gold colour, and the region of the anus is very much wrinkled. The third fore-toe, from what may be called its thumb, is longer than the rest; the body resembles that of the green frog, but the hind thighs are longer, the shanks are longer still, and the hind feet marginate on each side. The toes are connected at the tip, and the fourth is longer than the rest.

## CHAP. XII.

## CITIES AND TOWNS.

**WASHINGTON.**—This city is the seat of government for the United States. In other respects, it is as yet a place of trifling importance, either in regard to commerce or population. It does not contain more than about ten thousand inhabitants. It is situated on a branch of the Potomac river. The harbour is considered to be safe and commodious. Excellent free-stone, equal to that of Portland, is found adjacent to the city; and limestone, slate, and coal, are said to be in the vicinity.

The plan of this city is more perfect than that of any other in the world. It is, however, doubtful if it will ever be carried into effect; as it is considered probable that the seat of government must be removed beyond the Alleghany Mountains, west. The increasing importance of the present Western States, and the new states which will be formed in the Western territory, seem already to demand the removal of the seat of government to a more central situation. In the plan of this city which has been published, ground has been laid out for its extending in length four and a half miles,

and in breadth about two and a half. In this space, thirty-seven squares, seventeen principal streets or avenues, to be called after different states, and one hundred and three streets to intersect each other at right angles, are projected. The Capitol, President's house, and some other public offices, are elegant and spacious edifices.

During the late war between Great Britain and the United States, this city was taken possession of by the British. They held it indeed but a short period, yet sufficiently long to destroy the arsenal, the public buildings, and, what will be a lasting disgrace to England, the public library. When this subject has been mentioned to me in America, and in terms of censure against the British commander, I could only blush for my countrymen. I could offer no palliating excuse for such a wanton and wicked outrage. The caliph who ordered the library at Alexandria to be destroyed, was an infuriated senseless bigot, actuated by religious frenzy; there is therefore more excuse for this fanatic, than for the British commander. Previously to this circumstance, a great and respectable part of the citizens had reprobated the conduct of their own government in plunging the country into an unnecessary war with Great Britain. But when the library was destroyed, this wanton outrage caused one sudden and general burst of indignation, and united all parties against the English.

*New York*,—is a city of the greatest consequence and importance in the United States; it is situated on Manhattan Island, which is about eight miles long, and the medium breadth is about two miles. This island is formed by the confluence of Hudson's or North River, and an arm or branch of the sea which is called East River. The tide rises about six feet, and the wharfs or quays, either on the borders of East or North river, are formed at a trifling cost. Ships or vessels, of the largest dimensions, can be moored at the quays, for the purpose of being discharged. Nature appears to have been profuse in granting advantages to this port; yet the Americans have but little improved them. The benefits would have been incalculable, had they cut canals from one river to the other. Vessels by this means might have had their cargoes discharged into, or have been loaded directly from, warehouses on the banks of the canals. This would likewise have caused a more free circulation of air in the city, and have added much to the beauty of the place: in some parts, these canals need not have been one mile long.

The harbour of this city is sufficiently capacious to contain all the vessels in the world. It is a port also of easy ingress or egress, even for vessels of war of the largest dimensions. In a few hours' sail from the port, a vessel is in the ocean, free from all local dangers. With these great advantages, and when those canals which are projected, (and,

as the Americans say, "are now progressing,") which will unite the Hudson river to the Lakes and the great western waters, are completed, New York will at some future period "become a rival for the commerce of the world." At present, about one thousand vessels arrive there annually from foreign ports, besides two thousand five hundred coastwise.

This city consists of about twenty thousand dwelling-houses, besides a great number of ware-houses. The population is about 130,000. Many of the dwelling-houses are handsome brick buildings, some few are of stone, but the greater part is yet wood. As these decay, or are taken down, they must be replaced by brick or stone edifices, the corporation having obtained an act to prevent any new wooden buildings in certain sections of the city. The old parts of the city are formed of narrow and crooked streets, but the modern ones are spacious and regular. From the point of land approaching the harbour, which is called the Battery, the buildings of the city extend rather more than two miles. The whole island is now laid out in streets and squares, so that every new street will be regular; and all the streets hereafter formed will cross each other at right angles. The most beautiful street in the city is called Broadway; this is about eighty feet wide, and about two miles and a quarter long from the Battery, where it commences. In this street is situated Grace Church, Trinity Church, and St. Paul's, the City Hotel,

(one of the most beautiful brick buildings I ever beheld,) and the City Hall. There is a degree of lightness and beauty about this street which I never saw surpassed.

There are some handsome buildings in other parts of this city; but the City Hall is the most commanding, and some consider it as the finest erection in the United States. The front of this building is of white marble: I was told it was on the same plan, and of the same architecture, as the Register-office, Edinburgh, but that the front of the latter building was forty feet longer than the former. The City Hall being built of white marble, and having a spacious area before it, exhibits a light and pleasing appearance. Some of the churches are spacious, having high and handsome spires; these are erected of timber, but, being painted white, they have the appearance of freestone.

There are several public markets in the city; and these are uncommonly well supplied with all sorts of provisions: the market brokers take care to have them kept in good order. The following is a list of prices, in English money:—Beef and veal, from 3*d.* to 5*d.* per pound; mutton, 3*d.* to 4*d.*; pork, 2½*d.* to 4*d.*; ham and bacon, 6*d.* to 8½*d.*; dried and smoked beef, 7*d.* to 8*d.*; fowls, 1*s.* 6*d.* to 2*s.* 3*d.* per pair; ducks, 2*s.* 3*d.* to 2*s.* 6*d.* per pair; geese, 2*s.* 3*d.* to 3*s.* 4*d.* each; turkeys, 2*s.* 3*d.* to 4*s.* 0*d.* each; fresh butter, 1*s.* to 1*s.* 4*d.* per lb.; eggs, twenty for 1*s.*; cheese, 3*d.* to 6*d.* per lb.;

potatoes, 1s. 3d. to 2s. 6d. per bushel; cabbages, 1d. to 2d. each; milk, 2½d. to 3d. per quart; fish, 1d. to 3d. per pound; salmon is generally very dear, seldom below half a dollar, or 2s. 3d. per lb.; lobsters are very fine and cheap, 2d. to 3d. per lb.; oysters are large and good, 2s. 3d. to 4s. 6d. per hundred; when in season, a shad of 12lbs. weight may be often bought for 6½d.; salt is 9d. a peck; brown soap, by the box of 42lb. to 50lb. weight, may be purchased for 4½d. to 5d. per pound; candles, 7d. per lb.; superior flour, per barrel of 106lbs. weight, 22s. 6d. to 27s.; other sorts of flour, such as the more common wheaten, in proportion; rye flour, 13s. 6d. per barrel; Indian corn, meal, or flour, 13s. 6d. to 14s. 9d.; a mixture of the latter with wheat flour, makes a most excellent loaf, many prefer it to bread made only of wheat flour; malt may be bought at from 4s. 6d. to 6s. 9d. a bushel; feathers from fowls, about 9d. per lb.; goose feathers, about 2s. per lb.; common ale, 4d. per quart; best ditto, 6d. to 7d.; apples, 6d. a peck; onions, 2d. a rope; cucumbers, about 1d. each; common brown sugar, 5d. per lb.; lump ditto, 10d. to 14d.; raw coffee, 10d. to 12d. per lb.; common black tea, 2s. 3d. to 3s. 0d. per lb.; Hyson skin, 2s. 9d. to 3s. 3d.; young and old Hyson, 4s. 6d. to 5s. 9d.; gunpowder, 7s. 6d. to 9s.; French brandy, 6s. to 7s. per gallon; West India rum, 4s. 6d. to 5s. 7d. per gallon; Hollands, 4s. 6d. to 6s. per gallon; American spirits, 2s. 3d. to 3s. 5d. per gallon; wine, (Madeira is generally preferred)



from 16s. to 20s. the gallon, but a person can meet with all sorts of wine from 8s. per gallon, upwards. The common French red wines may frequently be purchased at 6s. a gallon. Clothing is dear. A superfine cloth coat will cost from 30 to 35 dollars, or from 6*l.* 15*s.* to 7*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.*; loose pantaloons, 9 to 12 dollars; waistcoats, 5 to 6 dollars. Inferior clothing may be purchased much lower, that is, they are not so dear in proportion to the British prices. Shoes and boots may be had at all prices. French silks are cheap; China crape for ladies' dresses is also cheap; sufficient for a dress, from 9 to 12 dollars. India pocket-handkerchiefs, about 4*s.* to 4*s.* 6*d.* each.

House-rent is excessively high at New York. A common mechanic will have to pay about 15*l.* a year for only two rooms. A two-story house, well situated in the city, and suitable for a respectable tradesman or shopkeeper, will be from 100*l.* to 120*l.* a year: I mean a house with kitchens in the cellar or ground-floor, two parlours, lodging-rooms over them, and rooms in the projecting attics for servants. In the outskirts of the city, the rent of such a house would be one-third less. It is not uncommon, in Broadway, to pay for a single shop, well situated, 250*l.* per annum.

Respecting boarding-houses, there is great variation in the prices. Some are only four dollars a week; whilst those which are considered fashionable houses, are eight or even ten dollars a week, for persons who are what they term "steady

boarders." "Transient boarders," or persons who merely intend to remain a few days or weeks, are charged more; thus, at a boarding-house, where the regular boarder would pay six dollars a week, a transient one would be charged nine dollars. All the great hotels are upon the same plan or principle as the boarding-houses. Mechanics in New York will have to pay about three dollars, or 13s. 6d. a week, for their board: but any of the useful mechanics will earn eight or ten dollars a week, if in employment; so that with care and frugality they may save a considerable part of their earnings. In the chapter upon Commerce will be found the value of all exports from the state of New York; but this of course is nearly confined to this one city. From that statement it will be seen, that there is a greater export from this place than from any other in the Union.—This city is 230 miles north-east of Washington, 232 south-west of Boston, 364 from Pittsburg, and 1564 from New Orleans.

*Philadelphia*,—which, in population, holds a rank next to New York, is situated on the banks of the river Delaware, between that and the river Schuylkill, about four miles above the junction of these two rivers, and one hundred and twenty miles from the ocean. This city was founded by the celebrated William Penn, (a quaker,) in 1681, and settled by a few British who accompanied him thither. Philadelphia, which rapidly increased, is laid out on a regular plan; some streets run nearly from east to west, and others from north

to south, crossing each other at right angles. We might suppose, that a place so regularly built, or planned, would be extremely captivating; but I was much disappointed. In viewing Philadelphia, there appeared rather a dull uniformity; and New York, with all its irregular streets, is in my opinion a much more pleasing city. Philadelphia extends about two miles in length from the Delaware, and is about one mile in breadth. There are, however, large suburbs, which extend along the Delaware. This city has by no means a pleasing appearance from the river, as few or no spires or elevated buildings enliven the prospect. The wharf or quay is very confined; and several mean edifices are erected, which are the first that present themselves to the view of a stranger. The next object is Water-street, a narrow, dirty, confined street, only thirty feet wide. In summer this is the hot-bed of disease, and the yellow fever, in 1793; first broke out in this place, and hence it extended its ravages over the whole city.

It is, however, but justice to the benevolent founder to state, that in his original plan he intended that all the space between Front-street and the river should be laid out with trees, to serve as public walks for the inhabitants. But this judicious and philanthropic design was infringed upon by his successors; and well have they paid for the folly and impropriety of their deviation!

The principal street in Philadelphia is High or Market street, which is one hundred feet wide, running the whole length of the city, and

terminating at the beautiful Schuylkill bridge. This street is much obstructed by a market-house erected in the centre of it; so that in some parts, it ought more properly to be said to be divided into two narrow streets. The houses are principally built of brick; some are fronted with marble, and most of the steps and other stone work are marble, for marble is as cheap there as common stone. There are several public buildings. The United States Bank, and some of the other banks, are built of marble, and are most elegant structures.

Provisions are cheaper here than at New York. Imported articles, such as sugar, tea, &c. at the same price. House-rent likewise is 20 to 30 per cent. lower.

There are several manufactories in this city, and not a few of the citizens possess great wealth, yet there is very little ostentatious display. It also contains some philosophical and other learned societies. Through every part the inhabitants are well supplied with water, which is of a very excellent quality. At the time when the famous declaration of independence was published, congress held their sittings in this city, and consequently, from hence it was issued; and here for many years afterwards they continued to meet. For this, its situation was well adapted, and in many respects it is more advantageous for the seat of government than the present city of Washington. Considerable commerce is carried on from this place; but in winter the Delaware is so frozen, that the navigation is prevented for three months;

this of course gives great advantages to the port of New York, the navigation to which is seldom impeded. The population of this city is about 110,000.—Philadelphia is distant 139 miles from Washington, 100 from Baltimore, 91 from New York, 323 from Boston, 276 from Pittsburg, 647 from Lexington, 1108 from St. Louis, and 1561 from New Orleans.

*Baltimore*,—the next town or city in point of population, is situated on the north bank of the river Patapsco, in that part which is called the bason. It is fifteen miles from the bay of Chesapeake, and two hundred from the ocean.

No more than eighty years ago, on the ground where Baltimore now stands, there were only ten or twelve houses, or huts; and even at the period when the colonists revolted from the parent state in 1775, it was nothing more than an inconsiderable village. Most of the streets in this town cross each other at right angles, and some of them are spacious. There are several elegant churches, among which, that belonging to the Unitarians is considered as superior to any other in the United States. This city enjoys a considerable share of commerce. Near to Baltimore is a place called Fell's Point, which may now be termed part of the city, being nearly connected therewith by buildings. The whole exhibits a pleasing appearance, and particularly so from the adjacent high ground. In its environs there are many gardens and villas.

This city being about fifty miles nearer to Pittsburgh than Philadelphia, gives to its merchants some advantage in the great Western trade; the shopkeepers from the Western Country supplying themselves with many manufactured and other articles from Baltimore and the Eastern States. The price for house-rent and buildings is rather higher here than at New York. Provisions also are dearer, excepting imported articles. Boarding also is a little dearer; but the mechanic obtains higher wages than either at New York or Philadelphia. There are several cotton and other mills, or manufactories, in the neighbourhood.—Baltimore is 40 miles from Washington, 100 from Philadelphia, 191 from New York, 423 from Boston, 228 from Pittsburgh, 584 from Charleston, and 1224 from New Orleans.

*Boston, Massachusetts.*—This town is situated at the bottom of Massachusetts Bay, upon a peninsula, and is joined to the main land by an isthmus on the south part of the town. At one place, it is two miles in length; but the broadest part is only about half a mile.

The ground in the centre of the town is considerably the highest part, and here the State House is situated. Boston has more the resemblance of an old English town than any other in the United States; the streets, lanes, and alleys, having been laid out agreeably to the caprice or convenience of the owners of the soil. The inhabitants of Boston boast very much of an agree-

able public promenade, called the Mall; but whether this or the Battery at New York claims the superiority, is a point which has occasioned many disputes. To the honour of the inhabitants of this place, it should be stated, that they attend more to the cultivation of literature and science than those in any other town of the Union; and hence their less industrious neighbours accuse them of being pedantic. There are numerous societies in this place, among which may be named the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, the Athenæum, the Historical Society, besides several charitable institutions. This town has never yet been incorporated; but if we may judge from the excellent regulations of the police, and the infrequency of crimes, we must allow that neither mayor nor corporation seems to be wanted. There are very few persons in Boston who cannot both read and write; and if we may form an opinion from the morals of the inhabitants, the beneficial effects of education are strikingly conspicuous in their behaviour. There are no beggars to be seen in the streets; and as Boston is not a place at which many poor emigrants arrive, it is not difficult for an industrious person to obtain employment. This is a town from whence there is a considerable foreign trade, as will be seen by the statement in this work, at the close of the chapter relative to Commerce; hence there are numerous wharfs or quays constructed, for facilitating the loading of vessels, or the discharging of

their cargoes. Perhaps the number of these wharfs may exceed eighty. This will not be deemed too great, when it is known that five or six hundred sail of vessels could lie in the harbour. There are several manufactories in this town and the parts adjacent, which furnish the industrious with much employment. The price of provisions differs very little between this place and New York. Its present population is about 50,000.

This town will always be remarkable, as being the cradle of that revolt which for ever separated the Colonies from Great Britain. Here the first resistance was made to the unconstitutional measures of a British administration. In consequence of the destruction of some tea at this place, and for other acts of the inhabitants, the famous Boston Port Bill was passed by a subservient parliament of Great Britain, in which they seemed determined that the inhabitants should suffer all the weight of vengeance they could inflict. But these coercive measures defeated the purposes of those with whom they originated, and ultimately brought upon the parent country that humiliation which she had designed for her offspring. The calamities which the inhabitants of Boston were doomed to suffer roused the people in every state; and the people thus roused, acquired a degree of strength which broke the chain that bound them to Great Britain, and not all the skill nor the power of ministers or parliament could again unite them.

This town of Boston was first settled so early



as the year 1630; and the name of Boston was given to it out of compliment to a clergyman, a Mr. Cotton, who had formerly resided at Boston in England, and who was the first minister at the New-town.

Within the short distance of forty miles from Boston, there are different towns, in which, taken together, there are no less than 50,000 inhabitants.—Boston is 462 miles from Washington.

*Charleston, South Carolina.*—This city is situated on a point of land between two rivers, Ashley and Cooper. These forming a junction, make the harbour of Charleston. This port is uncommonly well situated for commerce, and, as will be observed by a reference to the commercial statement to be found in this work, page 227, Charleston has a considerable share of the commerce of the United States. The city is laid out on a regular plan; but the chief fault is, the streets are too narrow. Many of the houses are built of brick, but the greatest number is of wood. Some of the houses are, however, large and handsome buildings. The markets are tolerably well supplied, but the prices of provisions in general are extravagantly high. Many of their cattle and vegetables are brought from the Eastern States. It is the same with their hay and corn, as it is much more advantageous for a planter to cultivate cotton and rice, than to attend to the production of any other article. The following list may be considered as forming a general scale, but nothing can be stated

with exactness as to the price of provisions in the Charleston market:—Beef, pork, and mutton, sell for 9*d.* to 12½*d.* per lb.; lamb and veal, 12½*d.* to 14*d.*; fowls, 5*s.* to 6*s.* 9*d.* per pair; ducks, about 4*s.* 6*d.* each; turkeys, 9*s.* to 13*s.* 6*d.* each; geese 9*s.* to 13*s.* 6*d.*; oysters, and other sorts of fish, are sometimes plentiful, the latter (black fish) I have bought at 3½*d.* per lb.; butter 1*s.* 7*d.* to 2*s.* 3*d.* per lb. Of cheese, potatoes, cabbages, onions, &c. the price depends entirely upon the supply from the Eastern States, and it cannot be stated with any accuracy. The population of Charleston is beyond 30,000, of which one-half are slaves.

The inhabitants are considered as very hospitable in their manners, and in their dispositions as being frank, open, and accommodating; but from the effects of the climate, and the existence of slavery, most of the whites are extremely indolent. Charleston has frequently been visited by that severe scourge, the malignant yellow fever. There have been instances of families, consisting of a father, mother, and four or five children, whom the yawning grave has received at one time, these having all died within a few hours of each other; but such domestic calamities generally fall on strangers who have not been seasoned. In the month of June, nearly all who can afford it repair to the Eastern States, or elsewhere, to avoid the pestilence. Some indeed merely remove to Sullivan's Island, which is more properly a sand-bank, situated a few miles beyond Charleston

harbour, but open to the Atlantic; and here they are pestered with myriads of sand-flies. Those who leave the city generally return in the beginning of November, the prospect of wealth encouraging them to brave every danger. In Charleston, many persons have made rapid fortunes; people who have at first only had sufficient to buy a cask of spirits, by retailing the same, and continuing a few years selling drams, &c. have realized twenty or thirty thousand dollars. The inhabitants going to Philadelphia, New York, or Boston, generally prefer the water; it is about seven days' voyage. The packet boats are fitted up in an elegant and convenient manner for the accommodation of passengers. The steam-vessel calls at this place in her voyage to and from New York to New Orleans.—Charleston is 544 miles from Washington, and 686 from Philadelphia.

*Savannah, Georgia.*—This city is situated on the borders of a river of the same name, upon a sandy bank or bluff, about sixty feet high. It is regularly planned and laid out. The streets are wide; and frequently cool and refreshing sea breezes are enjoyed. The inhabitants are about 8000 in number, nearly one-half of whom are slaves. This city is very favourably situated for commerce, and considerable trade is carried on in cotton, &c.—Savannah is 685 miles from Washington, and 114 from Charleston.

*New Orleans.*—This city, which is of modern origin, is situated on the East bank of the river

Mississippi, 110 miles, by the course of the river, from the sea or gulf of Mexico. The first house, or hut, according to Du Pratz, was erected on this site in the year 1718, for previously to that period, the seat of government was at Mobile. Early in the year 1788, the city contained 1100 houses built of wood; but in the month of March a destructive fire took place, and the houses were reduced in a few hours to only 200. This city is regularly laid out, and the streets, though not wide, intersect each other at right angles. There are several good brick three-story houses, but by far the greater number of dwellings are wooden buildings only one story high. The streets are not paved, and sometimes they are a foot or more deep in mud. From the same cause, namely, the want of pavement, in dry weather passengers are assailed by clouds of dust. This city therefore is extremely unpleasant as a residence, and one cause of its unhealthiness is involved in no mystery. It has, however, lately been determined to pave some of the principal streets. In 1803, when the territory of Louisiana was disposed of to the United States, there were no more than nine thousand inhabitants in this city. At present there are forty thousand; and were it not for the extreme unhealthiness of the place, it would in a very few years be the largest city in the Union. Where this city is located, the land has been formed by the depositum of wood and mud, which have been brought down the

river. On digging twenty feet below the surface, it is not at all uncommon to meet with trees; and there are very few parts within its precincts where brackish water may not be found at the trifling depth of two feet.

Between this city and the river, there is an embankment which is about eight feet higher than the ground, at only 500 yards' distance. Upon the rising of the river in spring, the water is frequently as high as the top of this embankment; and indeed it has sometimes occurred, that the whole city has been overflowed by the breaking in of this defence. In these cases, the whole country is inundated.

From the low situation in which this city stands, and from its being in the latitude of  $29^{\circ}$ , it is not to be wondered at that it is unhealthy in summer. It has frequently happened, that from the month of July to the middle of October, the malignant yellow or bilious fever has made dreadful ravages amongst all the strangers who have had the temerity to remain in this place, where disease and death so triumphantly establish their reign, and where it is out of the power of man to do any thing to arrest their progress. In some summers, seven out of every eight of the strangers in the city have been attacked by disease; and death has obtained nearly the whole. The healthy season of the year is from the beginning of November to the latter end of June; and this is the great time of commerce. Twelve or thirteen hundred flat-

bottomed boats and barges then arrive at this city from the Western States and territory, exclusively of steam-boats and planters' barges. It is not too much to say, that at present there are shipped from New Orleans 150,000 bales of cotton per annum, 30,000 hogsheads of tobacco, 30,000 hogsheads of sugar, 20,000 casks of molasses, 100,000 barrels of flour, 12,000 barrels of pork, 3000 barrels of lard, 4000 barrels of beef, 10,000 barrels of whiskey, 30,000 bushels of grain, besides bacon, pork, hams, venison hams, ginseng, hides, lead, peltries, &c. &c. In New Orleans are already to be seen the vessels of all nations; and when its streets are paved, when every thing else is done which can promote the health and comfort of the inhabitants, and when the Western Country becomes more settled, New Orleans, both in population and commerce, will be one of the greatest cities in the world.

Hitherto it has been the hot-bed of vice, the moral feelings and restraints of society having been little regarded; gaming-houses are publicly open, and in such situations as to arrest the attention of all who are passing through the city. Attempts are, however, now making to prevent such an open display of profligacy. Many of the inhabitants in New Orleans and several of the planters adjacent, are now possessed of considerable wealth.

The markets of this city are tolerably well furnished; but the difference in the price of every article of provisions depends so much on the sup-

ply, and that again upon the rising of the river, which will allow the boats from Kentucky, Ohio, &c. to descend, and on the arrival of vessels from the Eastern States, that nothing can be stated with incontrovertible precision. I have witnessed the sale of potatoes at one dollar a barrel; and at other periods the same quantity would have sold for ten dollars. The same may be said of butter and cheese, each being frequently sold for one-fourth of what might be obtained for a similar article within a month afterwards. Nor can these inconveniences be wholly prevented, particularly with respect to the productions of the soil. There appears to be something in the atmosphere of New Orleans, by which all sorts of vegetable substances decay when taken from the earth. When the Western boats arrive, flour generally is sold at from three to four dollars a barrel of 196lbs.; beef is 12½d. to 14d. per lb. English; hams, both pork and venison, when there is a supply from the Western States, 3d. to 6d. per lb.; fowls, 4s. 6d. to 6s. 9d. per pair; ducks, 4s. 6d. each; turkeys, 9s. to 13s. 6d. each; oysters and fish are often cheap, the latter about 6½d. per lb. The French language is the most generally spoken. New Orleans, during the healthy season, is an excellent place for mechanics of all sorts. They can obtain employment readily, at about two dollars to two and a half dollars per day; but the price of boarding would not be less than five or six dollars per week. The price for washing a dozen of clothes is one

dollar, or 4s. 6d. Many persons who have commenced here by retailing spirits, &c. have gained considerable sums; and others, even now, by attending to cars or carts having only two mules, can clear eight or ten dollars per day.

The public buildings in this place, worthy of notice, are, the Catholic Cathedral, an Episcopalian, and a Presbyterian Church. The Theatre, with the adjacent building, may be termed handsome. There is also a new Custom-house.—New Orleans is 1449 miles from Washington, 2188 from Pittsburg, 1179 from St. Louis, about 1666 miles from Cincinnati, and 1550 miles from Mexico.

*Louisville, in Kentucky.*—This is the most considerable town or city in the Western States. It is situated on the banks of the Ohio, where a stream called the Bear Grass forms a junction with the first-mentioned river. There are more than forty steam-boats, employed in conveying produce from this town to New Orleans; besides keel-boats, &c. Louisville is near the falls or rapids of the Ohio, Below the rapids is a shipping port, which may be termed the harbour for Louisville. This is an excellent situation for steam-boats, and a most convenient place for the building, either of these, or any sort of ships or vessels, to which purposes it is much appropriated. Little more than thirty years have elapsed since there was not a dwelling at Louisville. At present it is a flourishing city, where commerce and the arts are cultivated; where there are now handsome public and private



edifices; and where a happy population of about 25,000 inhabitants now dwell. The markets of Louisville are well supplied. The following are about the prices in English money :—Beef and mutton, 2*d.* to 3*d.* per lb.; veal, pork, and lamb, 2*d.* to 3½*d.*; bacon, 3*d.* to 5*d.*; butter, 7*d.* to 12½*d.*; cheese, 3½*d.* to 6*d.*; sugar, 6*d.* to 8*d.*; venison hams, 2½*d.* to 3*d.* per lb.; potatoes per bushel, 12½*d.* to 16*d.*; fowls, per pair, 9*d.* to 12½*d.*; eggs, 4*d.* to 6*d.* per dozen; flour, per barrel, 13*s.* 6*d.* to 18*s.*; apples, per barrel, 4*s.* 6*d.* to 5*s.* 7½*d.*; oats, per bushel, 12½*d.*; hay, per 100lbs. 2*s.* 3*d.* to 2*s.* 9*d.*; coals, 6*d.* to 8*d.* per bushel; Indian corn, meal, or flour, 6*s.* 9*d.* to 9*s.* per barrel; cider, per barrel, 9*s.* to 13*s.* 6*d.*; peach brandy, per gallon, 2*s.* 9*d.* to 3*s.* 6*d.*; whiskey, per gallon, 12½*d.* to 1*s.* 7*d.* Mechanics' board and lodging, about 13*s.* 6*d.* per week. The wages of mechanics, in all trades, vary from 31*s.* 6*d.* to 40*s.* 6*d.* per week. Tailors, shoemakers, carpenters or joiners, blacksmiths, bricklayers, masons, saddlers, tinmen, bakers, hatters, cutlers, gunsmiths, &c. &c.; will find employment either here, or at Cincinnati, and other neighbouring places. The population increases so rapidly with farmers and others, that there is always plenty of employment for the useful mechanics.

Wearing apparel is very expensive. A superfine blue coat will cost from twelve to fifteen dollars per yard; making a coat, from five to eight dollars; hats, four to ten dollars; shoes, three to four and a half dollars; Wellington boots, seven to nine dollars.

The rent of a good house, well situated for business, is 100*l.* to 150*l.* sterling, per annum.—Louisville is 623 miles from Washington, and 1550 from New Orleans.

*Cincinnati, Ohio.*—This town is situated on the north bank of the river Ohio. The Front-street is laid out in the form of a crescent, and presents a pleasing appearance from the river. The houses are mostly built of brick. The site of this place is about seventy to one hundred and twenty feet above low-water mark of the river; and consequently, they are never inconvenienced by the rising of the tide. In the neighbourhood of this town are many fertile and well-cultivated farms. Some of the churches here are spacious and handsome structures. There are several considerable manufactories near to this place.

Commerce is carried on from hence to New Orleans by means of steam and other boats, which are numerous; and there is likewise considerable commerce with Pittsburg. The merchants and store-keepers supply themselves with European and East India silks, cottons, woollens, and other articles, either from Pittsburg or New Orleans. The articles sent from hence consist of flour, corn, pork, beef, cider, whiskey, butter, lard, cheese, bacon, &c. Slavery is not tolerated here, therefore men and women servants obtain good situations. Men-servants, (or, as they are termed, "helps") if they live in the house, are paid from

ten to twelve dollars a month; women servants, five to seven dollars per month. The prices of the various articles of provisions are a little cheaper than at Louisville. The population of this place is about 13,000.—Cincinnati, is 515 miles from Washington, 105 miles from Louisville, 300 miles from Pittsburg, and 1666 from New Orleans.

*St. Louis, Missouri.*—This is a beautiful town, situated on the river Mississippi, twenty miles from the place where the river Mississippi forms a junction. This place is situated on a rock, which is of material advantage to the inhabitants, as it prevents the floods of the river having any effect upon the foundation of the houses. There are several steam-boats constantly employed between this town and New Orleans. Keel and flat-bottomed boats also go from this place with lead, and other articles of produce, to New Orleans. The population of this town is above 10,000, and the number is rapidly increasing. Useful mechanics can obtain good wages at this place. The following are the prices of provisions:—Flour, per barrel, 11s. 3d. to 13s. 6d.; Indian corn-meal, 6s. 9d. to 9s. per barrel; potatoes, per bushel, 1s. 2d.; beef and mutton, 2d. to 3d. per lb.; veal and pork, 2d. to 3d. per lb.; bacon, 3d. to 4d. per lb.; venison, 1½d. to 3d. per lb.; fowls, per pair, 1s. 2d.; ducks, 1s. 5d. to 1s. 8d. per pair; geese and turkeys, 2s. 3d. to 3s. 4d. each; cheese, 3d. to 5d. per lb.; butter, 6½d. per lb.; cider, per barrel, 9s. to 13s. 6d.; whiskey, per gallon, 1s. 2d. to 1s. 5d.; peach brandy, 2s. to 3s.

per gallon ; and maple sugar, from 4*d.* to 5*d.* per lb. Clothing is rather dearer than at Louisville.—St. Louis is 1052 miles from Washington, and 1179 from New Orleans.

*Pittsburg, in Alleghany County, Pennsylvania.*

—This town is situated on a plain, a little beyond the junction of the rivers Alleghany and Monongahela, after which it is termed the Ohio. This place has been called the link of connection between the older Atlantic and the new Western States. It is favourably situated for commerce and manufactures. Adjacent to this town are exhaustless quantities of coal ; we cannot term them mines, for the coal is actually near 300 feet above the level of the soil whereon the town is situated ; consequently it is obtained at a very trifling expense. The coal is of an excellent quality. Several manufactories are established here. In the year 1800, the population did not exceed 2400 ; at present it is about 15,000.

This place excites considerable interest, as nearly all European emigrants, and native American citizens, who are going to settle in the Western States, pass through it. Here they either purchase skiffs, or agree for their passage in some boats, &c. descending the Ohio. At Pittsburg, an emigrant can obtain the best information as to the part of the Western States in which it would be the most advisable for him to settle. We may form some idea of the great numbers of persons who have passed through Pittsburg on

their way to the Western States, when it is considered, that little more than twenty years since, the whole of this country was occupied by not more than about 30,000 white inhabitants; and that at present it contains a population of nearly 2,000,000.

The price of provisions here is rather higher than what I have rated them at in St. Louis; but coals can be purchased at 3*d*. English money, per bushel. They are now erecting two handsome and substantial bridges, one over the river Alleghany, and the other over the Monongahela, which will be a great convenience to the inhabitants of this town.

Vessels have been built at this place, which have navigated the ocean. I was told, that one of these sailing to a port in the Mediterranean, the captain had occasion to call upon the American consul; who said he was certain there was no such port as Pittsburg in the United States, and was for disclaiming the vessel as being an American, although she had a regular register from the port of Pittsburg: on reference, however, to a map of the United States, the situation of the port was shewn to him, 2300 miles from the sea.—Pittsburg is situated 252 miles from Washington, 228 from Baltimore, 276 from Philadelphia, 364 from New York, and 2188 from New Orleans.

## CHAP. XIII.

## LAKES, RIVERS, &amp;c.

It would require a space more than equal to the extent of this entire volume, were I to describe the magnificent lakes and rivers of the United States with any degree of minuteness. This chapter, therefore, is intended merely as a general sketch of the different waters which enrich and distinguish this portion of the world.

The lakes of North America are more properly inland seas; for on many of them there have floated mighty vessels of war. The mariner is frequently out of sight of land, and tempests often commit their dreadful ravages. And, what is still more to be deplored, the waters of some of these lakes have been crimsoned with the blood of those who have been slain by their fellow men in horrid warfare. Nature, in America, has worked on a majestic scale. Her lakes may be compared to what are elsewhere termed seas; and her rivers, from their extent, and the quantity of water which they contain, will cause those of Europe to appear as insignificant streams. The principal lakes are,—Lake of the Woods, Long Lake, Lake Superior, Huron, St. Clair, Erie, Ontario, Champlain, and Michigan.

The *Lake of the Woods*,—is situated 49° 37' north latitude, and 94° 51' west longitude, from Greenwich. This lake communicates on the one side with Lake Superior, and on the other with Lakes Winnepick and Bourbon; and is the source of one branch of the river Bourbon.

*Long Lake*,—is situated east of the Lake of the Woods; it is about one hundred miles long, and fifteen miles wide in general, but at one place it may be about twenty miles in width. There are several small lakes adjacent to it.

*Lake Superior*,—is properly so named from its great extent, and the vast body of water which it contains. It is not less than 1500 miles in circumference. This lake lies between 46° and 50° of north latitude, and 9° and 16° of west longitude, from Washington. In this lake are several large islands, one of which is much larger than the whole possessions of some European sovereign princes. Isle Royal is not less than a hundred miles long, and in some places it is more than forty in breadth. The water of this lake is remarkably transparent, through which it appears as if the bed were of rock; a great part of the coast is also rocky. This lake abounds with fish; trout, salmon-trout, and sturgeon: the former are so large, that they have often when caught weighed from ten even to fifty pounds. It is supposed, that not more than one-tenth part of the water which this lake is known to receive, is discharged from it by the strait of St. Mary, which is the only visible outlet. Some persons therefore

imagine, that there are subterraneous passages by which it escapes; for it could not be supposed that evaporation would take off nine-tenths of all the water which is poured into it.

*Lake Huron*,—which receives a great part of its water from Lake Superior by the strait of St. Mary, is inferior in magnitude only to that lake. It is situated between  $42^{\circ}$  and  $46^{\circ}$  of north latitude, and between  $4^{\circ}$  and  $8^{\circ}$  of west longitude, from Washington. The shape of this lake is nearly of the form of a triangle, and its circumference is not much less than 1000 miles. At the north-east corner, this lake communicates by the straits of Michilmackinac with Lake Michigan. Lake Huron also abounds with fish of a similar sort to those which are found in Lake Superior. It likewise contains several islands, which the Indians suppose to be the abode of spirits; but what is more certain is, they are the abode of rattlesnakes, and other venomous reptiles.

*Lake Michigan*.—This lake is about 270 miles long, and on the average about 70 broad. It admits of a good navigation, but its communication with Lake Huron by the straits of Michilmackinac is shallow and dangerous.

*Lake St. Clair*,—is situated about midway between Lakes Huron and Erie, and is about ninety miles in circumference. It receives its waters from the three great lakes, Superior, Michigan, and Huron, and discharges them through the river Detroit into Lake Erie. It is nearly of a circular



form, and admits of a good navigation for small vessels.

*Lake Erie*,—is situated between 41° and 43° of north latitude, and between 3° and 6° of west longitude, from Washington. It is about 300 miles long, and averages about fifty-six miles in breadth. The water is excellent. It abounds with fish; sturgeon, trout, white fish, perch, and many other sorts. There are several islands at the west end of the lake, which are much infested by serpents and rattlesnakes; a few hogs, however, would soon destroy them. The scenery from these islands is said to be enchanting; and it has also been observed, that the soil is excellent. Excepting in very severe winters, the waters are not frozen in the middle. The navigation on this lake is good. The principal ports on the side belonging to the United States are,—Michilmackinac, Detroit, Miami, Sandusky, Cayhuga, Grand River, Presque Isle, and Buffalo. On the British side, Malden, Moyes, Sandwich, and St. Joseph's. On the east end, this lake discharges its waters into the Niagara river; which water, together with that of several creeks or rivulets, which the Niagara has received in the space of little more than five miles, forms its celebrated Falls. After the water has passed the Falls about sixteen miles, the river empties itself into Lake Ontario.

*Lake Ontario*,—is situated between 43° and 45° north latitude, and 0° and 3° west longitude, from Washington. Its length is about 200 miles, its

breadth about 40. This lake is nearly of an oval form, and the circumference about 600 miles. It contains great quantities of fish, comprising all those which are mentioned in the other lakes, besides a sort of bass, weighing from three to five pounds. On the south-east, it receives the waters from the river Oswego, and on the north-east it discharges itself into the river Iroquois, which in a few miles further, at Kingston, takes the name of the St. Lawrence.

*Lake Champlain*,—is situated between the states of New York and Vermont. It is about 120 miles in length; in some places two, others five, and in the broadest part eighteen miles in width. In the broad part the water is very deep; in some places even a hundred fathoms. This lake empties itself by the river Sorel, which joins the river St. Lawrence forty-five miles below Montreal.

*Mississippi River*.—This great and important stream is the principal one in the United States, and in some respects it may be termed the principal river in the world: there are not many besides, which discharge so much water into the ocean. This river is very deep, in some places forty, and in some even sixty or seventy fathoms. In consequence of this great depth, although in some parts it runs in warm latitudes, the exhalation has little effect in diminishing the quantity of its waters. This has a great number of outlets; and having formed for itself a sort of trunk or channel by the

quantity of timber and slime which is annually deposited, for 200 miles from its principal mouths, if the water should overflow its banks, it passes off to the sea, returning no more to the river, the bed of which is higher than the adjoining land. The principal communication with the sea, by which vessels enter, is the Balize, which is both a difficult and dangerous entrance. There are seldom more than thirteen feet of water on the bar, and the tide rises no more than about one foot. This is called the North-east Pass. The pilots have a few erections on a mud bank about two miles from this entrance. At present the pilotage of this river is a complete monopoly. The governor of the state of Louisiana has the appointment of pilots; and the present monopolists, who are gentlemen of large fortune residing at New Orleans, and who do nothing but receive the income of the monopoly, have so ingratiated themselves with that governor, that the property of vessels, and the lives of persons, are hazarded, lest, by the appointment of useful and proper pilots, the emoluments of these wealthy individuals should sustain an injury. Some years since, a handsome brick light-house was erected at a vast expense, on one of the islands which the mud had formed; nor was it discovered, until the tottering building communicated the information, that a mud bank was an improper foundation for a heavy brick edifice. At first the inhabitants endeavoured to support it by props; but these were found insufficient. It was therefore at length abandoned,

to remain as a monument of their folly, and a vessel was moored near the place, with a floating light.

Although the North-east Pass is used for vessels to enter the river, it is considered that an entrance in the south-west would be safer; but unfortunately there are no convenient places where the pilots could erect any dwellings near to the latter spot. The entrance into the river Mississippi at any of the passes is extremely disagreeable, as nothing but mud banks and water are to be seen from the principal entrance to Plaquemines. Even for the distance of about thirty-two miles, there is not a single hut or cabin; a few reeds, or a few scattered clumps of trees, are all that can be viewed; and if the weather has been warm, there are myriads of horse-flies, sand-flies, or moschetoës, to annoy the voyager. At Plaquemines, the river makes a turn; in consequence of which, vessels are in general detained some time at this place; for although the wind may have been favourable thus far, yet it may be such as will not carry the vessel beyond the point which is here formed. Upon my passing up this river in the month of January 1821, the vessel in which I sailed was here arrested by the wind. Our ship was tied to a tree; for at this place they are sufficiently large to serve for that purpose; and it is very often that twenty vessels may be seen near to each other, all tied to trees. The following day, the wind not being favourable, myself and two other passengers crossed the river in a boat to view the fort. We

received every possible attention from the major commandant, who, without expecting any return, loaded our boat with vegetables, and invited us to take any refreshment his dwelling afforded.

The government of the United States here maintains a garrison of about two companies. The first is considered as a peculiarly strong construction, and it completely commands the passage of the river, which at this place is about half a mile wide. The water runs sometimes no more than at the rate of one mile an hour; at others two, three, four, and even five miles an hour. An eddy, or counter current, is generally formed, and vessels ascending to New Orleans keep close in shore, during which time a man at the chains is constantly throwing the lead; yet with every care possible, vessels frequently get a ground, but, it being mud, they are seldom much injured.

From Plaquemines, to the English Turn, is about fifty-eight miles; and as the river is ascended from the former place, houses are continually passed; but it is not before we arrive at Johnson's, a distance of about fifty miles from Plaquemines, that any regular plantation appears. At this place there is a handsome dwelling house, negro huts, sugar houses &c. which give a complete idea of a sugar plantation. At the English Turn, the river makes a complete bend; and a wind almost totally different from the one which served to approach this place, is then requisite to sail through this turn. Vessels have

sometimes been detained here for a fortnight. From this place to New Orleans is twenty miles. Some, who reckon by the course of the river to the bar or principal entrance from New Orleans, state the whole distance at 120 miles. I have here estimated it at 110; others call it no more than 100 miles. Vessels are generally one week in their passage from the Balize to New Orleans, and three days from the latter place to the former in their descent.

The Mississippi River has its rise in Turtle Lake, 47° 47' of north latitude. It receives a number of streams or rivulets, and reaches the Falls of St. Anthony, in latitude 44° north. The river at this place is not more than 100 yards wide. Those falls, and the rapids below them, make a descent, which the water has passed, of 75 feet. Not far from the falls, the river St. Peter joins, flowing from the west; and a short distance from thence, the river St. Croix, which comes from the east, empties itself into the common stream. Fifteen miles below this junction, the river arrives at a plain, where it forms a beautiful expanse of water, named Lake Pepin, at the lower end of which it receives the Chippaway river. Ninety miles beyond this, and in north latitude 42°, the Ouisconsin river forms a junction. The last-mentioned river approaches within two miles of a river called the Fox river, which empties itself into Lake Michigan. In latitude 39° north, the Illinois river, which comes from the east, forms a junction;

eighteen miles below, the Missouri from the west mingles its waters with the Mississippi; and the quantity which it contributes is nearly two-thirds more than what the Mississippi contained previously to this junction. One hundred and ninety-one miles below the junction of the Missouri, the river Ohio from the east discharges its waters into this great receptacle. The Ohio, and also the Mississippi, previously to this junction of the Missouri, are perfectly clear streams, but the Missouri being muddy, when it joins the Mississippi, contaminates the water of that river, which is never again cleared until it mixes with the ocean. Even there, the white muddy fresh water floats upon the surface; and long before land is descried, the mariner has certain proofs of his approaching an outlet of the great Mississippi. Descending from the junction of the Ohio about 350 miles, the White river from the westward, which for above 300 miles has run through beds of marble, discharges its waters into the Mississippi. Fourteen miles below this, the river Arkansa, also from the westward, contributes its waters to the great stream. The source of this river is in the mountains of Santa Fé. About 190 miles from the Arkansa river, the Yazoo also contributes its waters; and sixty-three lower down, the Black river joins. The last river of any note, which empties itself into the Mississippi, is Red river, about 250 miles above New Orleans. From New Orleans to the mouth of the Ohio is about 980 miles by water, although

little more than half that distance by land. This is caused by the winding course which the river takes. At one place, although by land it is little more than three miles across, yet the circuit of the river is nearly sixty miles. There is another place, called Point Coupée, where the river in former times made a circuit of about thirty miles, which was opened about the year 1720, in the following manner. Du Pratz, I believe, relates the circumstance I am now going to mention:—Two persons coming down the river in a canoe, when the water was very high, espied a small rivulet about five feet wide, which they entered; and fastening their canoe to a tree, one of them determined to take his gun, follow the rivulet, and endeavour to kill some game. He had not gone further than half a mile, before he saw an extensive sheet of water, which he at first thought was a lake; but looking more narrowly, he observed it was the same river, nearly thirty miles lower down, by water, than where the canoe was fastened. On returning to inform his companion of the discovery, they removed some little impediments, and brought their canoe through the small opening: the consequence was, that from the removal of these trifling obstructions, the water from the river flowed more freely; and the earth being of a loose nature, in a few years the whole stream left the old bed, and the small rivulet, of five feet broad and only two feet deep, was soon worked into the bed or channel of the Mississippi.



*The Ohio.*—This river takes the name of the Ohio at Pittsburg, after the two rivers the Alleghany and Monongahela have formed a junction. Descending from this place, and before this river joins the great Mississippi, the following streams become tributary to the Ohio,—Muskengum, Little Kenhaway, Great Kenhaway, Great Sandy, Sciota, Limestone, Little Miami, Licking Creek, Great Miami, Great Bone Creek, Kentucky, Salt River, Green River, Wabash, Cumberland, and Tennessee. The Great Miami, one of these tributary rivers, is navigable from its junction with the Ohio for a considerable distance, and a navigable communication could easily be made to Lake Erie. The Cumberland river in some parts borders upon North Carolina; this river is navigable more than 200 miles from its entrance into the Ohio. The Wabash is a navigable river, opening a communication from the Illinois State to New Orleans; it also receives several navigable rivers, one of which is the White river, by which a commercial intercourse may be conducted with the state of Indiana. The Monongahela is a river which admits of a good navigation. The Ohio is an extremely beautiful river, but it is not navigable for large vessels in the months of August, September, and October.

*The Illinois.*—is a fine clear river, gentle, and without rapids; it is navigable to its source, which is only two miles from a stream called the Chicago: the latter stream affords a batteaux navigation to Lake Michigan.

*The Missouri.*—This river, with several tributary streams, takes its rise in the rocky mountains, in about 44° north latitude. From the mouth or part where it forms a junction with the Mississippi, it receives many large navigable rivers; the principal of these are, the Yellow Stone, 1700 miles above the confluence of the Mississippi, Little Missouri, River la Platte, the Kansas, and the Osage River. The Missouri is navigable for 2500 miles, besides the different navigable streams which are tributary to it. 2575 miles from its junction are the falls or rapids, where the waters descend nearly 380 feet in the space of eighteen miles. This river ought more properly to be termed the Mississippi, or the latter ought to continue the name of Missouri, as the Missouri contributes more water to the general stream than any other, or than what the Mississippi contained previously to that junction.

The floods of the Mississippi are periodical, like those of the Nile. In some places there is a perpendicular rise of forty feet. The commencement of the floods depends upon the rising of the Missouri, the Ohio, and its other tributary streams. When the thaw commences, which is generally in February, the floods of the Ohio begin, and the rise of this river has been known to be nearly fifty feet. The floods of the Missouri are also owing to the thaw which melts the snow and ice on the rocky mountains; sometimes the Missouri has risen between four and five feet in twenty-four hours. When the floods of the Ohio, of the

Missouri, and of the other rivers, happen at the same time, then there is the greatest rise in the Mississippi; but it frequently occurs, that the floods of these rivers are at different seasons, and therefore they have not such an effect upon the current or waters of the Mississippi. I have known the rising of the Mississippi to commence in the end of January, but in general this does not take place till March; and the water begins to subside in June. The navigation of the rivers Missouri and Mississippi is attended with some danger and difficulty. This arises from the great quantity of floating timber. In many places, and on the banks of the Missouri, the earth is loose, and the water acting upon that loose earth, undermines it, when large trees with their roots and branches fall into the stream. Some of these are floated down a considerable distance before they sink, others disappear in a short time. Some of them thus sinking, the earth which adheres to their roots becomes imbedded with the mud in the river, but the top of the tree is either above the water, or close to its surface. Here it remains stationary, presenting five or six points or branches; so that if a vessel or boat unfortunately come upon it, it is probable a hole will soon be made in its bottom. A tree thus stationary, the Americans call a *Planter*; but if the top keep moving, as sometimes happens from the current acting on its branches, while the root is firmly fixed, carrying the top a few feet, from which it again rebounds, this is termed a *Sawyer*;

and many vessels and boats are lost by means of these planters and sawyers. I have met with these planters below the English Turn. On the river Ohio, the rapids near Louisville are the only dangerous part, that river being free from floating timber.— But I must here pause, to make a few reflections.

I have attempted to give a short sketch of the vast lakes and of the great Western waters of the United States, in which nature has been extremely bountiful to that country. These rivers afford an inland navigation, such as no other empire possesses. Were we to compute the extent of navigation, of which the Mississippi alone, including all its tributary, and their tributary streams, is capable, there is no doubt it would exceed 50,000 miles; and consequently there are 100,000 miles of river coast. There are few places in the Western Country that are more than thirty miles beyond some navigable lake or river. The area of land, which contributes to the waters of the Mississippi, is calculated at nearly one million five hundred thousand square miles, for it embraces nearly the whole country between the Alleghany and the Rocky Mountains. There is already an extensive commerce conducted on this river and its various branches. There are more than 120 steam-boats, and some of large dimensions, now employed on that river and its tributary waters. Some of these steam-boats, viz. the Missouri, and also the United States, will measure nearly 800 tons. The accommodation for passengers in the steam-boats

which move on the Western waters are generally if not always constructed on the decks, some of which are 150 to 160 feet in length; and ample conveniences are made for 100 passengers in several of the boats. The steam-vessels are fitted up, especially the ladies' apartments, with a costly profusion; and a lady or gentleman will be equally as well accommodated in these, as at an inn. They may be termed moving-hotels. The regulations on board these boats particularly provide for the conveniency and privacy of ladies. Should a gentleman wish to intrude into their apartments, if there were fifty ladies' passengers, and any one objected, he could not be admitted. There are great numbers of passengers constantly travelling in the steam-boats on these great rivers. The United States government could never repay Fulton, the great promoter, if not the projector, of propelling boats by steam; it has made the land in the Western Country of the United States of double the value it would otherwise have been.

From Pittsburg to New Orleans, about 2000 miles, the steam-boats are about eighteen days on the passage; a keel-boat is about thirty days. A steam-boat will return from New Orleans to Pittsburg in about fifty-six days.

In a short period there will be a navigable communication to these great Western waters, by means of canals from the Hudson to the Lakes, and from thence to the rivers which are tributary, and which are navigable to the Mississippi. Nearly

400 miles of canal navigation are contemplated by the state of New York, which will serve to unite the Hudson river to the Lake Champlain, and also with Lake Erie, and the latter will again be united with the great Western waters. More than 200 miles of canal navigation have already been completed, to serve for that purpose; and in 1825, it is supposed that the whole magnificent undertaking will be accomplished. There will then be a communication between Lake Michigan and the Illinois river, and between the Ohio and the waters of Lake Erie; so that the greater part of the United States will form one vast island, susceptible of circumnavigation to the extent of many thousand miles. The expense of this great undertaking to the state of New York will be a little more than a million sterling.

There can be no doubt, that other states, seeing the benefit derived by New York from these canals, will likewise be prompted to improve their natural advantages of forming communications to the Western rivers. At even less expense than it will cost the state of New York, Pennsylvania could form canals which would communicate to those waters. This state has already contracted for the cutting a canal of twenty-two miles in length, to improve the navigation of the river Schuylkill.

*Columbia River.*—The next river in the United States, in point of extent, &c. to the Mississippi and some of the streams which I have described, is

the Columbia. This river has its source in the rocky mountains. Before it discharges itself into the Pacific Ocean, it receives several large tributary streams; Clarke's river, Lewis's river, Multnomah, &c. At present there are very few white inhabitants who have settled near the mouth, or on the banks of this river. The Columbia, and its tributary streams, would afford an extensive navigation; and perhaps at some future period, by means of canals, a communication may be made to lead to some of the waters which empty themselves into the Mississippi. It is very probable, that before many years have elapsed, there will be a very considerable town near to the mouth of this river. The passage from thence to China and the East Indies will be but short; we may therefore expect that the day will arrive, when this will be the mart of an extensive and advantageous commerce. This at present is mere speculation and it will be for the writer of some other age to say whether this surmise has been realized.

*The River Mobile.*—This river also discharges its waters into the Gulf of Mexico, in  $30^{\circ} 40'$  of north latitude. At its mouth, or on the head of Mobile Bay, on the west bank, is situated the town of Mobile, which is more ancient than that of New Orleans. At the east side of the same Bay, stands the town of Blakeley. From these towns much commerce is carried on. The river Mobile is formed by the junction of the rivers Tombigbee and Alabama, which takes place about forty-five

miles from the head of the Bay. These rivers, together with one called the Black Warrior, which is tributary to the Tombigbee, afford navigation for many hundred miles. Near to these rivers, the settlements, which are situated in the state of Alabama, are fast increasing, for no part of the United States is better adapted for the cultivation of cotton, &c.

There are several rivers in Florida, which will afford good navigation; the principal ones are, the St. John, Escambia, and Chatahouchy. There are several bays; the principal one is that of Pensacola, and the town of that name is situated on its margin. It is reasonable to suppose, as Florida belongs to the United States, that the advantageous situation of Pensacola will cause considerable commerce to be conducted here, not only with Florida, but from the neighbouring states of Alabama and Louisiana.

The *Savannah River*.—This river is of particular consequence to the state of Georgia. It takes its rise 220 miles from the sea, from the junction of two rivers called the Tugulo and Keowee. It discharges its waters in the Atlantic ocean, seventeen miles below the town of Savannah, to which place it is navigable for ships of burden. It is navigable for boats and small craft 140 miles higher, to the town of Augusta. A little beyond this town are the Falls; but the river can be navigated for eighty miles beyond those Falls, even to the mouth of the Tugulo.



There are also in this state of Georgia, the rivers Chatahouchy, (which forms the western boundary of the state with Florida,) St. Mary's River, Turtle River, Great Stilla, Little Stilla, Crooked River, and the Ogeche River.—The Chatahouchy and St. Mary's river afford good navigation.

In South Carolina, the *Santee* is the largest river in the state. This is formed by the junction in the interior of the state, of two small rivers, the Congeree and Wateree. This river admits of good navigation. The Great Pedee River also runs in this state; this is 800 miles in length, and navigable for boats of fifty or sixty tons, for at least 200 miles. This river falls into Wingaw Bay, which is the bay or harbour for George town. Cooper and Ashley rivers, by their junction, form the harbour for the port of Charleston. Cooper river rises about fifty miles north-west of Charleston, not far from the Santee, to which there is a canal. Ashley river is one of trifling importance.

In North Carolina, *Cape Fear River* is the largest in the state. It empties itself in the Atlantic at Cape Fear, in  $36^{\circ} 46'$ . Brunswick is the first town from the ocean, situated on its banks; then Wilmington; and at a considerable distance from the sea is the flourishing town of Fayetteville; this stream is therefore of considerable importance. The river Roanoke, which is long and rapid, takes its name after the junction of the Staunton River, which rises in Virginia, with the Dan of North

**Carolina.** The Roanoke is navigable for large vessels thirty miles from Albemarle Sound, where it empties itself; and for vessels of thirty tons it is navigable to the falls, seventy miles higher; and above the falls, boats of a few tons may navigate it for 200 miles.

The *River Neuse*,—which has its rise in the mountains of North Carolina, takes a circuitous course of 500 miles, and empties itself into Pamlico Sound. It is navigable for sea-vessels twelve miles up; for vessels of thirty to forty tons, fifty miles; and for boats 200 miles. Besides the above, there are Pamlico, or Tar river, Chowan river, and several other smaller ones, all of which admit of navigation.

*Pamlico Sound*,—is a sort of lake or inland sea, 100 miles in length, and about 20 broad. It is separated from the Atlantic only by a sandy beach, not more than a mile in width. A few bushes or shrubs grow upon this beach, through which are several small inlets from the sea. This communicates with Albemarle Sound, which is also a sort of inland sea, sixty miles long, and about ten broad, lying north of Pamlico Sound. They are situated in latitude 35° 6'.

*James's River*,—is the most important in the state of Virginia. Its source is in the Alleghany mountains. The whole length of this river, including its turnings, is more than 300 miles. It receives several tributary streams, the chief of which are the Rivanna, the Appomattox,

the Chickahominy, the Nansemond, and the Elizabeth: on the banks of the latter, the town of Norfolk is situated. This river, and several of its tributary ones, admit of good navigation. Their waters fall into the bay of Chesapeak in latitude  $57^{\circ}$ , opposite to the opening with the ocean.

*York River*,—is one which affords a good harbour for vessels; there being four fathoms water for twenty miles above York-town. This river is formed by the junction of the Pamunky and Mathaponey. It also falls into the bay of Chesapeak.

The *River Rappahannoc*,—is also one which admits of a good navigation. The source of this river is from some small streams which take their rise in the Alleghany mountains. This river is discharged into the bay of Chesapeak.

The *River Potomac*,—runs through the district of Columbia. On its banks is situated the federal city of Washington. This river rises in the Alleghany mountains, and, after taking many turns, and running 400 miles, falls into the bay of Chesapeak. The Potomac is navigable for ships of any burden for 100 miles; and for light craft a considerable distance higher; the different tributary streams, the principal of which is the Shenandank, also admit of navigation.

It has already been stated, that the Potomac, Rappahannoc, York, and James rivers, all discharge their waters into the bay of Chesapeak; and before

I enumerate any other rivers which empty themselves into this bay, it will be proper to give a short description of it.—This bay first takes its formation at the mouth of the Susquehannah river, near to which it receives several creeks or small rivers. The bay at this part is about seven miles broad, and so it continues for twenty miles; it then widens to about fourteen miles, and continues that or a greater breadth for twenty-five miles further; it is then contracted for about twenty-three miles, after which its breadth again enlarges, but at one part, near the Patuxent river, it is again no more than seven miles wide. It soon, however, stretches out to the breadth of about thirty miles, and in no part afterwards is it less than twenty-three miles, until it approaches the outlet to the ocean, which is fifteen miles broad. The whole extent of this great bay is about 190 miles from north to south: it receives the entire waters of the state of Maryland, nearly all those of Virginia, which flow on the eastern side of the Alleghany mountains, most of the Pennsylvania rivers, and several from the state of Delaware. No bay in any part of the world is of greater magnitude.

*Patapsco River.*—This river rises in York County, Pennsylvania, and pursues a south-east course to within eight miles of Baltimore; it there changes its course, and runs eastwardly over the falls; and then widens at Baltimore, where it is about two miles and a half in breadth. This river, which is navigable to Baltimore for vessels

drawing eighteen feet of water, falls into the bay of Chesapeak.

The *Patuxent*,—which is a larger river than the one last described, also discharges its waters into the bay of Chesapeak. It admits vessels of 250 tons, fifty miles from its mouth. On the eastern side of the Chesapeak, there are many rivers which fall into that bay; and several of them will admit of navigation. The following are the names of some of the principal ones; Pokomoke, Wigheocomico, Nanticoke, Kattiurine, Choptank, St. Michael's, Chester, Elke, Wye, Sasafra, and Bohemia rivers. On the north is the rapid and important river, the Susquehannah, the east branch of which rises in Lake Otsego, in the state of New York, but the western branch has its source in the Alleghany mountains. Both these branches, before they unite, take very circuitous courses. The entire length, from the mouth of this river to the head of the eastern branch, is about 450 miles; and with some expense, which for so great an object would be trifling, it might be rendered navigable for boats the whole distance. At present it is navigable for large vessels but a few miles from the bay of Chesapeak.

The rivers in the state of Delaware are not of much extent. The one, however, called *Brandywine Creek* is of great importance, in consequence of the number of mills and manufactories which are there established. More than 150 mill-seats are now occupied, and more than 500,000 bushels

of wheat are annually ground into flour at this place; but I refer to the chapter on Commerce for a more particular description.

**The *River Delaware*.**—The source of this river is in the state of New York. It takes a south-west course, and enters Pennsylvania in 42° of north latitude. It then runs southwardly, and separates New York from Pennsylvania. It then flows to a point of the state of New Jersey, latitude 41° 24', and runs on to Delaware bay, separating Pennsylvania and New Jersey for upwards of 190 miles. This river is navigable from its mouth to Philadelphia, (120 miles,) for any ship of the line; it is navigable for sloops to Trenton Falls; and for 100 miles further, for boats or small craft. Several elegant steam-boats ply upon the Delaware.

**The *River Schuylkill*,**—rises in a ridge of the Alleghany mountains. It takes a south-east direction for upwards of 120 miles, and discharges itself into the Delaware, six miles below the city of Philadelphia. From its mouth, it is navigable for about eighty-six miles. It is in contemplation to form a canal betwixt this river and the Susquehannah. Should this be completed, it is probable that other canals will be formed, to unite the waters with Lake Erie, and finally to communicate with the Ohio.

The rivers in New Jersey are not of much importance, unless the Delaware and the Hudson rivers should be claimed as in part belonging to this state; in which case my remark would not

apply. The Hackensac and the Passaic, which do not admit of navigation, excepting for a few miles, are the principal rivers of this state. On the Passaic there are numerous manufactories, which give the river an importance it would not otherwise possess.

The *Hudson*,—or, as it is called at New York, the *North River*,—is one of the most important that falls into the Atlantic. Its source is in a mountainous country, between Lakes Ontario and Champlain and from thence to its discharge in York Bay, or at the city of New York, is 250 miles. The course of this river is in the state of New York, which in some parts it separates from New Jersey; but the state of New York claims the entire river. It is navigable for vessels drawing no more than nine feet of water to Albany, a distance of 170 miles from its mouth; smaller vessels can proceed much further. This river, in a part of its course, runs between some of the highest mountains in the United States, through a passage which some dreadful convulsion of nature must have worked for it.

It has been already mentioned, that, by means of canals, some of which the Americans are now excavating, it is intended to join this river with the great western waters. To this they have strong inducements, as at present it is calculated that 600,000 tons of goods are annually moved on the waters of this river. There are several steamboats, one of which, the “Chancellor Livingstone,”

is not excelled for size or elegance in any part of the world: this vessel sails regularly for Albany, and has accommodations for 200 passengers. Her length on deck is 175 feet. Several others are but little inferior. Steam-boats, in the United States, generally move at the rate of seven miles an hour, unless they have to stem a strong current. There are several steam-boats employed in crossing both this, the North, and likewise the East river. These in their formation resemble two narrow boats fastened together on the deck; and the wheel, for there is but one, acts between the two boats. The ferry is so formed, that its margin rises and falls with the tide, so that the deck of these boats is always level with the wharf. A person can therefore drive a carriage, or, if on horseback, ride on the deck of the boat, without having occasion to dismount; and when on the opposite side, he can ride or drive with equal ease.

One of the horse-boats which cross the North river to Mohawken, is of a very peculiar construction; and I shall avail myself of Professor Silliman's description of one exactly similar, employed at another part of the same river. "The horse ferry-boat is on the principle of an inclined plane: the horses at one side look to the bow, the other to the stern; their feet take hold of channels or grooves, cut in the wheels in the direction of radii: they press forward, and although they advance not, any more than a squirrel in a revolving cage, or a dog at a spit, yet their



weight causes the wheel to turn, and act and propel the boat as in a steam or other horse-boat." The fact is, that the weight of the animal acts, as well as his force or strength. These boats answer for a short distance; and four horses, employed upon the principle of these boats, will propel one, which in the common mode would require twelve.

*Connecticut River.*—The source of this river is in the high lands which separate the state of Vermont from the British possessions in Canada. Its course is through one of the most thickly settled parts of the United States. Many beautiful towns or villages adorn and enliven its banks. This river is not navigable for more than sixty miles from its mouth, which is situated in Long Island Sound. Several smaller rivers empty themselves into the Connecticut, which are remarkable only for affording advantageous sites for mill-seats. The sea-coast of Connecticut is provided with good harbours. New London harbour opens to the south, and is large and convenient, with an easy entrance. It has about five fathoms water, with a good bottom; and for a mile above the town is perfectly secure for large ships. New-haven harbour has good anchorage ground; with common tides, there are twenty-two feet water at flood, and fifteen at low-water. This harbour is a sort of bay, which runs in northwardly from the sound about four miles; the entrance is about half a mile wide.

*Providence River*,—discharges itself into Naraganset bay, in the state of Rhode Island. The source of this river is in several small branches, some of which take their rise in Massachusetts. This river is navigable for large vessels to the town of Providence, thirty miles from the sea.

*Taunton, Patucket, Wanaspatucket, and Moshassuck Rivers*, all discharge themselves into the same bay of Naraganset. These rivers are inferior in consequence to Providence river; but some of them afford excellent sites for mill-seats, and many mills and manufactories are accordingly erected.

*Naraganset Bay*.—This bay encompasses many beautiful islands, and serves to communicate with some commodious harbours; the principal one is Newport. This harbour is not excelled in the United States, nor perhaps in any other country; but with all its advantages, it has only a small portion, either of the trade of which it could once boast, or of the vessels which formerly floated upon its bosom. New York appears as a vortex, which draws in nearly all the foreign commerce of this part of the United States.

*Merrimack River*.—This river, which empties itself into the sea at Newbury Port, Massachusetts, is navigable twenty miles from its mouth.

*Charles, Medford, and Mystic Rivers*, fall into Boston harbour. Though not navigable for any great distance, they serve to form the beautiful

bay of Boston. Besides the bay of Boston, there are those of Ipswich, Plymouth, Barnstable, and Buzzard, in this state.

*Penobscot River*,—discharges its waters into the bay of that name, in the state of Maine. This river is navigable to the Falls about forty miles from the sea.

*Kennebeck River*.—This fine river has two sources, one of which is in Lake Megantic, situated in the high lands which separate the British territory in Canada from those of the United States; the other source is Moosehead Lake, in the state of Maine. During its course, it receives Sandy River from the west, Sebastacook and several other streams from the east, and empties itself into the sea near Cape Small Point.

*Androscoggin River*,—is a tributary stream to the Kennebeck. Its source is in Lake Umbagog, New Hampshire; and it discharges its waters into the Kennebeck, about twenty miles from the sea, and 146 from its source. Previously to its junction with the Kennebeck, at one place it approaches within two miles of the ocean. There are several smaller rivers in this state, but they do not merit a particular description.

The sea-coast of the state of Maine is indented with several bays. The principal of these are the following:—Penobscot bay, which is nearly fifty miles wide, and in which are several islands: Casco bay, which is remarkably beautiful, and contains upwards of 300 islands, some of which

are inhabited : Broad bay, Wells bay, Saco, Machias, and Pasmaquoddy bays ; the latter separates the British provinces of New Brunswick from those of the United States.

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It must not be supposed by the reader, that the previous enumeration includes all the streams with which the United States are enriched. In several of them considerable numbers are passed over in silence, which, in the topography of England, would merit a particular description, and be deemed as of inestimable value. In no portion of the globe has nature been more profuse in her bounties, particularly in rivers, than in America. She seems to have laid the foundation of a magnificent empire, destined in some future age to stand among the nations of the earth, like Columbus among navigators, a stupendous monument of unrivalled superiority.

## CHAP. XIV.

## PUBLIC ROADS.

IN the survey which I am taking of the United States, it would be a culpable omission to pass over the Public Roads in total silence; and I should merit censure, were I to extend my observations to an immoderate length, on a subject where the materials are so scanty.

The *Roads*, in most of the old Atlantic states, are on the whole better than could possibly be expected, considering that they are in a country of such recent settlement, and that the population is so thinly scattered.

In the Eastern territories, all the public roads are good; those especially from New York to Philadelphia, are scarcely exceeded in England. This may be easily inferred from the expedition with which travellers accomplish their journeys. The distance one way between these towns is ninety-six miles, and ninety-one by another. In one instance, I knew several gentlemen, who left New York in a public stage at five o'clock in the morning, dined at Philadelphia, and returned the same evening, arriving at New York by nine o'clock. In some places the roads are made

at a very considerable expense, particularly over marshes; this is done by laying down trees, and as these sink, others are laid upon them. In one place, it was supposed that the first trees which had been laid down had sunk twenty feet from the surface. Where there is not much travelling, it cannot be expected that the roads will be good; this is of course the case in all the newly-settled states; and nature having been so bountiful to this country in furnishing navigable streams, in many places the roads are neglected.

The Americans have undoubtedly a great share of industry; and in making roads and canals it is particularly conspicuous. The method which they generally adopt is, to let off the work by contract. Some of the New England people, (or the Yankees, as they are termed in America,) frequently are the contractors; and if it be possible to devise a mode to save labour, these people will discover it. In making roads, the plough is almost always used. The soil being first loosened by this instrument, if the ground be too high, or want levelling, a man holds a sort of trough, cased at the front with iron, which being drawn by an ox or a horse, is soon filled with the loose earth which has been ploughed, and is then taken to any other part where it is wanted. Notwithstanding wages are so much higher in America than in England, yet I believe, from the modes which the inhabitants have devised to save labour, and their superior way of working, that roads and canals are made there at no greater

expense than in Great Britain. They have undertaken to construct a road from Washington to the Western Country; and, as the Americans would say, "it has progressed considerably." It is probable, that at some future period this road will only terminate at the Pacific ocean.

There are several extensive and beautiful *Bridges* in the United States. Some, near Philadelphia, over the river Schuylkill, are handsome structures. They are built of wood, it is true, but they are erected in an elegant and substantial manner, being roofed or covered over. There are many of this description throughout the Union. But even these precautionary measures cannot render the materials imperishable. These bridges will, however, serve for a season every purpose for which they have been erected; and when they begin to fall into decay, the citizens, having marked the progress of trade, agriculture; and population, will supply their places with those of stone or cast iron, selecting situations adapted to their own convenience.

## CHAP. XV.

## SLAVERY, AND ITS EFFECTS.

IN all ages, some men, in consequence of obtaining power, have made others of their fellow species slaves. In sacred, as well as profane history, we read of slaves. In republican Rome, slaves were entirely at the mercy of their masters. Even by the mild and beneficent precepts of Christianity, which, in the language of heaven, tells us to "do unto others as we would they should do unto us;" to consider all men as our brethren; and to view the Almighty, who governs and rules the universe, as our common Father,—it has not been wholly abolished, slavery being still practised by men professing to be Christians. Nay, even in Britain this most odious traffic in human blood has been tolerated. In the British West India islands this monster, slavery, exhibits its infernal features; and, strange as it may appear, in christian America slavery stalks abroad in thirteen states, surrounded as it were by a rampart of laws. Thus, in thirteen portions of what is termed a free and independent empire, in which the rights of mankind are taken as the basis of the constitution for the citizens, the negro or black man is held in detestable bondage.



It is true, that the curse of slavery has been entailed upon the Americans by their European ancestry; and, to the honour of several of the Eastern States, it should be recorded, that since the country has become independent, slavery has been abolished. In a few years, slavery will no longer exist in the state of New York; and in New Jersey also, measures have been taken to effect a gradual abolition. In New Jersey, a few years since, it was legal for masters, (provided they had the consent of the slaves,) to remove them to any other state; and many outrages on humanity were committed under the sanction of this law. At that time, slaves were selling at New Jersey for about three hundred dollars each, which in New Orleans were worth seven or eight hundred dollars; and the traffic of slaves in consequence became considerable.

Justices of the peace at that time were found base enough, in New Jersey, to attest that slaves had consented to be removed; when in many instances they had never examined them. To prevent the continuance of this traffic, the legislature of New Jersey interfered, and put a stop to these proceedings; and at present any person removing a slave from that state, has to give a bond (in a heavy penalty) that he shall be returned. Although we might offer some palliation for the planters in the old Southern States who continue slavery, yet none can be offered for admitting the state of Missouri into the Union, with a toleration of this odious practice.

The Americans may boast of the rights of man, the great law of nature, as being the basis of their constitution; they may declaim against tyranny and oppression; yet every man who becomes a slave-holder in Missouri, is a tyrant of their creation. The great law of liberty is as much invaded by permitting their fellow-creatures to be enslaved in Missouri, as it was by an Austrian despot preventing, by the aid of the bayonet, the people of Naples from enjoying a free constitution. To the honour of the inhabitants of New York and Philadelphia be it spoken, that they have done much in favour of the blacks. With respect to the former city, during the period when the Missouri question was agitated in congress, a public meeting took place on the 16th November, 1819, relative to the admission of that state into the Union; and one of the resolutions passed, was, "That in the opinion of this meeting, the admission of slavery into such state or territory, would be contrary to the spirit of our free and excellent constitution, and injurious to the highest interests of the nation." Of those members in congress, from the Eastern states, who voted for the permission of slavery in Missouri, nine out of ten were not afterwards returned: they were considered as men unworthy of the confidence of their fellow-citizens, because they had acted in contradiction to the known and declared sentiments of their constituents.

Those who are possessed of slaves, and who defend the principle, say that they are equally as

comfortable as other working people, if not more so; and certainly, on many plantations, the negro huts are not contemptible dwellings. But, like a beast of burden, the slave is attended to in consequence of his value, and of the increased work which he is able to perform by being in a healthy state. The negroes in general are allowed to have small gardens, in which they cultivate vegetables, such as potatoes, both the Irish and the sweet ones; together with pumpkins, melons, &c. They are also permitted to keep poultry; and, on many plantations, they have a certain time allowed for their own work. But notwithstanding there are many indulgent masters, yet there are several whose characters are just the reverse. We might indeed suppose that the owners of slaves would for their own interest act with kindness; yet, in defiance of this, and the claims of humanity, they are known to act with cruelty. On many plantations, the agonizing shriek of the negro suffering under the lash, is almost continually to be heard; and on others, several of the unhappy negroes have heavy chains on their legs, while others have iron collars on their necks. O Slavery, how horrid is thy appearance!—It is fortunate that the negroes are in general of a very happy and social disposition, passionately fond of music and dancing, for even whilst at work they are generally singing.

I have often been surprised, at New Orleans, to see groups of forty or fifty negroes manacled with chains, &c. still at their work, and encourag-

ing each other with their songs; thus appearing to forget "chains and slavery." In some of the Southern States, several female blacks having been permitted to attend the markets, have acquired thereby many hundred dollars. The blacks indeed are the only persons who serve the inhabitants with vegetables, fish, &c. and with the sums they thus acquire many have purchased their freedom.

From the cruelty with which some masters treat their slaves, we might expect their resentment. In some instances this has occurred, and the masters have been murdered; but these occurrences are rare. The owner or overseer of a plantation is undoubtedly always in danger, if he has incurred the animosity of the slaves.

The effects of slavery are truly appalling. Where slavery exists, virtue and morality are swept away as with a flood of corruption. Vice stalks forth by day-light; there is no need for it to seek the concealment of darkness. Although a black or coloured person is never allowed to be in the company of a respectable white female, nor will a white man associate with a coloured one; yet where slavery exists, many of the whites constantly cohabit with females of colour, even with the blackest of the negro race, and some live in this shameful connection even with their own children! for there are states in which there is no law against incest. To an Englishman, it may appear strange, that a white man, of any feeling, should be willing to become the father of slaves; but he does not

look through American spectacles; for in the United States there are many, who, by education and association, are gentlemen, that are guilty of this shameful practice; and the consequence is, that in some instances there are slaves who are perfectly white. I need not, however, confine this remark to the Middle or Southern States; for in New Jersey there is a man, a farmer, who had three negresses, by each of whom he had children; and whenever he could dispose of these his own offspring, he sold them, in the same manner as he would have disposed of his hogs!

It is not to be wondered at that the female of colour receives the addresses of the white man. Taught from her infancy to consider the white as a superior order of being, she soon yields to his solicitations; and the rite of marriage is disregarded, from the singular fact, that in some of the Southern States it is illegal for a white person to marry one of colour. In New Orleans, when a white man is desirous of living with a coloured female, it is common to get a notary to draw up something like articles of copartnership; these in general are for a certain number of years.—The laws against slaves, in some of the states, are very severe: If the master wishes a slave to be punished, he has merely to order it. If a person of colour strike a white man, and if the prosecutor insist upon it, the slave, according to law, must lose his right arm. If he be guilty of disrespect, he will be ordered a number of lashes.

In some states, no person of colour can inherit property, or obtain it by the will or testament of a white. In the Southern States, even those persons of colour who are free, are in great danger of being again enslaved, if they should unfortunately happen to lose their papers of freedom, and be arrested: it remains with them to prove they are free; this may require some time, during which they have to remain in gaol; and although they may afterwards prove the injustice of their having been detained, they are sold for a certain time to pay their gaol fees, by which means some are robbed of their liberty. Common justice dictates, that congress ought to interfere, to prevent the continuance of this shameful conduct, wherever it is practised against free persons of colour.

Many fine blacks are known to be kidnapped, and it is difficult for a black on a plantation to escape, and tell his tale of woe. And should he be able to go to a justice, and complain that he has been kidnapped, it is probable he would be disbelieved and flogged; and on being returned to the plantation, he would be manacled, as a punishment for his attempt to recover his rights.—It would certainly be gratifying to humanity to see a general emancipation of the people of colour throughout the United States, but this ought to be effected by very gradual means; for if it were otherwise, the blacks themselves might be the sufferers. There is, however, no probability of these persons being

emancipated ; for so long as the labour of slaves can be procured cheaper than that of freemen, slavery will be continued.—It is difficult to determine with precision what is the cost of labour performed by slaves, but the following may be taken as a general estimate. The value of a good healthy negro, at twenty-five years of age, in the Southern States is about 700 dollars. The interest upon this sum, we ought to take at  $7\frac{1}{2}$  per cent.; and considering the life of a negro at fourteen years, it would stand as follows:—

	<i>Dollars.</i>
First cost.....	700
Interest upon the same, 52 dollars 50 cents per annum, which would amount in fourteen years to .....	735
Clothing, and expense of maintenance, 80 dollars per annum .....	1120
	<hr/>
	2555
	<hr/>

The above sum, it is presumed, would thus be expended in fourteen years ; which would be 182 dollars and 50 cents per annum, or about three dollars and a half per week. I do not offer this as any correct datum, although I do not think it far from the cost of negroes' labour in the Southern States. On some plantations, where the slave is fed and clothed meanly, he will not cost so much ; but the original price and interest will be the same, therefore the difference can only be in the maintenance. It is customary on some plantations, to allow only a peck of Indian corn per week, for the

sustenance of a slave; but as the value of corn fluctuates, it is impossible to give any exact account of the expense of maintenance. On some plantations, the slaves are allowed pork or fish.

In those states where slavery is abolished, "there is a strong propensity in the people of colour to congregate, in the large towns; where," as the governor of New York expresses it, "they are particularly exposed to the contagion of bad example." When I first arrived in the United States, and heard the citizens express so mean an opinion of the whole race, I considered it as the result of prejudice, and of an improper feeling which was cherished towards these unfortunate beings; but when I saw the cringing fawning servility which marked their conduct, noticed the numerous acts of depredation which many of them committed, and the vicious and immoral lives which many of them led, I no longer wondered at the general opinion which was entertained concerning them. There can be no doubt, that this conduct is chiefly to be traced to the very degraded light in which they are viewed. When blacks quarrel, the most taunting and provoking epithet which they can employ, and which they often do use, is that of calling each other "a dirty black naygur." Nothing in fact but brutality can be expected from persons who are considered as sustaining the character of brutes, and who are treated accordingly. We therefore see from hence, that even in those states where slavery is abolished, the effects re-



main. It is like a disease which has infected the body, but has happily been removed :—the rottenness which had tainted the system, has left some of its paralyzing effects ; and many years must elapse before these effects will cease to operate.

The blacks or coloured people, both from choice, and from the prejudices of the whites, are obliged to associate with each other ; and this in New York and Philadelphia they frequently do. They are uniformly fond of gaiety, and at their dances many of the females dress in the most costly and extravagant manner ; and, with regard to the young men, there is no want of black dandys at these splendid interviews. With respect to music, the facility with which these coloured people learn to play upon instruments is astonishing ; on which account they have always tolerably good concerts.

In Louisiana, and the state of Mississippi, the slaves have Sunday for a day of recreation, and upon many plantations they dance for several hours during the afternoon of this day. The general movement is in what they call the Congo dance ; but their music often consists of nothing more than an excavated piece of wood, at one end of which is a piece of parchment which covers the hollow part on which they beat ; this, and the singing or vociferation of those who are dancing, and of those who surround the dancers, constitute the whole of their harmony.

In New Orleans, there is a description of

coloured persons whom they name *quatroons*, that is, the colour between a mulatto and a white; the female *quatroons* have an assembly every week, at some seasons of the year, and to this they admit none but white gentlemen; these balls are conducted with great propriety. Many of these *quatroons* are possessed of a handsome property, and some have received a good education. Most of them are the children of white merchants or planters, who have procured their emancipation. Although the term *quatroon* would infer a person of three-fourths white extraction, yet all between the colour of a mulatto and a white acquire in New Orleans this appellation. Some, indeed, are to all appearance perfectly white; yet as it can be traced that they are of black descent, were they to intrude into the company of a white female, or even into the boxes appropriated to the whites at the theatre, they would be expelled with every mark of disrespect.

Jefferson, in his *Notes on Virginia*, endeavours, in a long article, to inculcate an opinion that the black is inferior in point of intellect to the white. Either climate or other natural causes have certainly constituted a great difference in appearance; the forehead, the nose, the lips, indeed all the outward conformation of the black, seems very different to the white. Whether they are a race inferior in point of intellect, it is impossible to determine. No part of the United States would be proper to fix upon, to serve as a criterion, whereon

to found any reasoning upon the subject. Even in the free states, or those in which slavery is not allowed, where the black is, in point of law, upon an equality as a citizen with the white, he is in public esteem a degraded being. He is excluded from those seminaries where the higher branches of education are taught. He cannot mix in society with the learned: to him the learned professions are sealed. These causes operate powerfully in preventing the development of intellect; and it is no wonder that he does not equal the white in literary acquirements.

In New York and Philadelphia, there are many shrewd sensible blacks. Some few have amassed fortunes; and several conduct their business with considerable ability and integrity.

In the states where slavery is allowed, the system cannot fail to prove disagreeable to an European emigrant; he cannot view without disgust, the sale of the human species, as if they were cattle. If an emigrant has a number of boys in his family, for him to reside in a slave-holding state would be highly injudicious, provided he regards the preservation of their morals. Where marriage is lightly esteemed, and where a boy is continually observing a free intercourse between white men and coloured females; such is the influence of example, that if his morals are preserved, it will be next to a miracle. In some of the Southern States, even the white female is neglected, and the men lavish their caresses upon the black or mulatto.

In this chapter, though I have sketched but a few of the evils of slavery, yet I have noticed a sufficiency to justify these conclusions,—that a violation of the laws of nature ensures its own punishment; and that mankind will sooner or later learn, that to promote their ultimate interest, they must act with justice.

## CHAP. XVI.

## MANNERS AND CUSTOMS.

**THERE** is no country of Europe, that has not yielded some of its inhabitants to the United States; the consequence is, that the manners and customs of the citizens in different parts of the Union are various. Even in the same state, a marked difference is apparent. One part is perhaps occupied by those whose ancestors were English; and another part by the descendants of the Dutch, &c. all these have different manners and customs peculiar to the countries of their respective progenitors.

The New England states were first settled by the English Puritans; a sect who had peculiar marks of character in their native country. They were rigid Calvinists, whose tempers had been soured by persecution; and even to this day, the harsh and unbending, or unaccommodating, disposition of the first settlers, is stamped on their progeny. These first settlers were very regular in their attendance on public worship, and this disposition has been bequeathed to their posterity; for in all the Eastern States, the inhabitants are still distinguished by their peculiar characteristic.

In some of the New England states, it would not be considered as great a crime for a man to defraud his creditors, as to absent himself from church on a Sunday. Where this is the case, it is sure to create many religious hypocrites; and hypocrisy in religion will cause knavery in all civil transactions. Such is the opinion entertained in the other states, of New England honesty, that when a person employs low cunning or deceptive representation to gain his ends, it is termed a Yankee trick; for to these inhabitants, the term Yankee is exclusively applied. I should be sorry, however, to pass a general censure upon all the New Englanders; being fully assured, that at Boston, Salem, and at all parts of those states, there are merchants and others, whose characters for honour and probity cannot be excelled in any country.

In several of the Eastern States, until very lately, the inhabitants would not permit any one to travel on a Sunday; and when the mails were established by the general government, it gave great offence that they should run on that day. In Connecticut, they often laid hold of the passengers, and forced them to church. If any one were travelling, either in a gig or otherways, they would lay hold of the horse, and lead it to the church door, compelling the rider to enter and hear the service. In New Jersey it was but little different, for persons stationed themselves on the roads and the bridges, to detect those who were travelling on a Sunday, in order to fine them; and in defining

the day, some of the inhabitants of the New England states conceive, that the sabbath commences at sun-set on Saturday evening, and continues till the same time on Sunday.

The manners, &c. of the more wealthy inhabitants of Boston, approximate more nearly to the British than those in any other part of the Union; but in all the large cities and towns, there is not a very material difference in the formation of society. In these places, concerts, assemblies, and public balls are numerous. At some of the public balls there may occasionally be found a collection of five or six hundred persons; but theatrical amusements in general are not well attended.

Within a very few years, there has been a great difference in the attendance at theatres. Four years since, the enormous rent of a sum equal to 3000*l.* sterling per annum was paid for the New York theatre; but if half that amount were now given, I should conceive that the manager would lose money. Their stage is chiefly supplied from the British boards; but I cannot say much in favour of American discrimination of the theatrical performances. I was present when Mrs. Bartley made her debüt before an American audience. Mrs. B. certainly performed to good houses, but not so great as it might have been expected that the greatest tragic actress whom they had ever witnessed would have attracted. Those fine impassioned passages, where the look or the action

of the performer speaks to, or affects, the feelings more than words, and for the performance of which Mrs. B. is so justly celebrated, passed unnoticed; it was only in the boisterous parts that she obtained applause. With them, it may be said, that the performer who wishes to succeed, must

“Burst the bands of sleep asunder,  
And rouse them like a rattling peal of thunder.”

A Mr. Cooper is considered by them as the model of every thing great and proper as a tragic performer. In their way of expression, he is “the first tragic actor in the world;” and should a foreigner dissent from this opinion, it would be termed prejudice. The citizens are so fond of rant, and of a bombastic sort of performance, that a chaste correct actor has little chance of success. The power of the lungs will have the greatest influence in eliciting their approbation. Mr. Philips, as a singer, succeeded very well; he performed to overflowing houses: he was termed “the first singing actor in the world.” Incledon was not much esteemed.

I was present at New Orleans in the year 1821, when Mr. E——, who, I understand, was formerly manager of the theatre at York, in England, cut short the thread of his existence, and passed, uncalled for, from the stage of this world, to appear in a new character before the Manager of the universe. He must be left to the mercy of his God, for there are none who perform their parts on the



stage here, but have need of the compassion of the Almighty. There is, however, something so abhorrent to the feelings, so atrocious, and at the same time so weak and foolish, in the commission of suicide, that the act may well excite our astonishment, indignation, compassion, and horror. It was said that a disagreement with the manager, a Mr. C——, was the cause of this dreadful deed; and this opinion was sanctioned by the well-known fact, that most of the performers were much dissatisfied with the manager's conduct. By some means or other, nearly all the company were in his debt, and consequently at his mercy.

I certainly would recommend to British theatrical performers, to be on their guard, before they embark for the United States. The concerts in their large cities are not conducted in a manner to equal those which are given in England. There are but few vocal performers, seldom more than one good one at a concert. Frequently, after the concert, there is a ball. At present, one of the first female singers is a Mrs. French, the lady of a gentleman who was once a merchant at Baltimore, and who possessed a handsome property. Merchants, however, may be said to stand on a tottering pedestal; losses by bad debts, or from other causes, soon overthrow them, and many of them fall "never to rise again." Mr. French was one who met with reverses of fortune; his lady, who had often delighted him and the whole of their sunshine friends with her vocal talents, then came

forward to sing in public, to support herself, her husband, and her little ones. She met with support; the Americans said she was "the first singer in the world;" and to speak of Madame Catalani, Mrs. Billington, or any one as being superior, was envy. Mrs. French is a pleasing singer; in England she would be considered as inferior only to few. I was pleased with hearing her; and a knowledge of the laudable motive which caused her to appear before the public, enhanced the gratification. Sacred oratorios are often attempted in the large cities; but he who has attended at the musical festivals in England, must moderate his expectations, otherwise he will be disappointed.

The dancing assemblies in the large cities are well conducted; these are attended by what are termed, persons of the first standing. There are also public cotillon and quadrille parties, and they have likewise what they term "publics." These publics are generally weekly assemblies by dancing-masters, free for all his scholars and their parents, and nearly so for all females. Gentlemen have to pay a dollar for admittance. In many instances improper company attend, and they are not considered very respectable assemblages.

A foreigner, accustomed to the conveniencies and luxuries of Europe, and who takes pleasure in attending public places of amusement, will be at no loss in the large cities of the United States. The servants, or domestic attendants, are certainly not so accommodating as in Europe; but in these

cities they are more so than in the country parts, and European servants can generally be procured. It is true, that no one, in this republican country, will use the term master or mistress; "employers," and the Dutch word "boss," are used instead. This is the case in all manufactories: they term the proprietor, the principal boss; and the carder in a cotton mill is called, the card-room boss.

A person accustomed to travel in Europe, where at an inn or tavern every one is attentive, and all the servants are on the alert, will not be much pleased with the attendance at an American tavern, in a country town. After a traveller has given his orders, it is probable he will hear a servant, or one of the helps, as they are termed, informing the landlord or landlady, that "the man wants some drink," &c. The same if it be a lady, "the woman wants to eat," &c. If there be any other guests, it would be almost impossible to procure a private apartment. There is one public room, where all are indiscriminately blended. If it be in winter, and there should be a fire, those who have first entered the room, and seated themselves around it, will still retain possession; and if these be men, it is very probable they will have their seats or chairs so stationed, that they may place their heels on the mantel-piece. Here they will probably be chewing tobacco, or smoking cigars, and drinking, and the appearance of the floor near which they are seated, will be disgusting from the tobacco spittle.

That it may not be thought I am describing the manners of the citizens as more filthy than what they really are, I subjoin the following extract from one of their own writers, Professor Silliman, who thus speaks of the capital of Albany:—"I could not but notice," says he, "that the tessellated marble pavement of the vestibule, (otherwise very handsome,) was shamefully dirtied by tobacco spittle: such a thing would not be suffered in Europe. It is peculiarly offensive in so fine a building." It is, however, of no consequence, let it be tessellated marble pavement, Turkey carpet, or any thing even more valuable, those who chew, which nearly all do, discharge the saliva wherever they are. It would be in vain to offer a spitting-box. I have frequently seen spitting-boxes before them, and they have turned to spit on the carpet. Sometimes I have remonstrated with them; but they said, "it served to clean the carpet, and keep out moths."

If a stranger arrives at an inn or tavern in the country, and several persons are in the room, they will just give a vacant sort of stare or gaze, but they will soon settle into their wonted indifference. If a person should be travelling in some of the back settlements, perhaps, on his first arrival, he may be greeted in a different manner. But if the company should think, by the stranger's dress, appearance, or behaviour, that he fancied himself superior to them, it is very probable that some one would rise, and look at him in a very impudent

manner, and perhaps address him in a taunting mode, to excite his notice; and unless he pacified the party by treating them with whiskey, it is likely he would be abused. In some of the back settlements, the people are very brutal, being almost free from all restraint of law; nor can this excite astonishment, for perhaps the justices or 'squires in these places are nearly as brutal as the rest. We may observe, from the manner in which they fight duels, that among the higher classes there is a shocking degree of ferocity. Men firing at each other with muskets at six or ten paces' distance, shew a disposition extremely savage: indeed, the fact could not be credited, were it not supported by the most indubitable proof. Their duels with pistols at ten paces, seldom terminate except with the loss of life. In some of the Southern and Western States, when those of a lower grade, as the Americans express it, fight, it is in a truly diabolical manner; biting off each other's ears or noses, and gouging, or in other words, tearing out each other's eyes. I am aware that in some parts of Lancashire, in England, the lower orders fight in a manner nearly as brutal, but still it is not so general as in some parts of the United States. The peasantry, however, in the Eastern States, are exempt from this sort of barbarous conduct. In those parts of New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, settled by the Dutch, if they quarrel, those who make the greatest noise are considered as the victors.

One object only appears to actuate these descendants of the Dutch, and that is, to amass wealth. They live upon the plainest food, in order to save money. I have sometimes accidentally called upon Dutch farmers, who have been at dinner with their families; and although they were men who possessed what was there deemed a handsome property, yet their dinner generally consisted of a little fat pork and vegetables. Their desire of hoarding wealth, once caused a number of married persons, amounting to several families, forming a community, to agree to live together, and not have intercourse with each other for seven years, in order that the females might not be obstructed in their labour by attending to infants; and that thus the community might the better be enabled to amass property; and what is still more remarkable, this plan was actually carried into effect.

There is also a singular custom amongst these Dutch, which few in Europe would be disposed to credit, that is, the practice of "bundling." This is generally performed in winter, when snow is on the ground. At this time, parties are formed of young unmarried persons, an equal number of each sex. They take sleighs, or sledges, and drive off to some tavern at a convenient distance, where it is probable they will dance. When the time comes for retiring, each young man is generally honoured by reposing in bed with a young female. Sometimes four will be obliged to sleep in one bed; this will

consist of two of each sex. They are so reconciled to this bundling custom, that amongst a great number of the inhabitants, the descendants of the Dutch, in some of the states, a young female would think no more of allowing a young man to go to bed with her, than she would of permitting him to shake hands. It is very common for young females to be absent three or four days, on these sleighing and bundling excursions. When I was informed at the city of New York of this practice, I certainly did not believe it; there appeared such a degree of indelicacy, that I considered, if such a custom existed, it was confined to females who were abandoned to every sense of propriety, virtue, and decorum.

When I arrived at New Jersey, I met with a gentleman from Manchester, in England, whom a reverse of fortune had caused to emigrate with his wife and family. In England he had been in respectable circumstances. In New Jersey he had purchased a farm, and kept a tavern. I inquired of him, if it were correct, that the young ladies in the neighbourhood were in the habit of being absent three or four days together, sleighing and bundling. He replied in the affirmative. He stated, that the first winter he resided there, the snow having been on the ground only a few days, late one evening a sleigh arrived with two young men and two well-dressed females. They inquired if they could be accommodated with beds. The answer of the landlord was, he had only one room.

for strangers, in which were two beds; but, said he, "I will order one of the beds to be taken into my daughter's room, and the young ladies may pass the night with them." The eldest of the two females immediately made answer, "We have been the whole day together, and we w'on't be separated." "What!" replied the tavern-keeper, "you surely don't wish to sleep in the same room with the young men, unless you are married?" "We don't wish to be separated," again said the elder female. "Very well," rejoined the landlord, "if you are so desirous to be put into the same room, I shall make no farther objections." These young females were not more than seventeen or eighteen years of age; and the tavern-keeper was afterwards informed, they were the daughters of tolerably wealthy Dutch farmers. He told me also, that as the snow continued on the ground, parties were continually arriving at his house, at all hours of the night; and the young ladies (like those two who first visited his house) did not wish to be separated from the young men. I have been informed by English young ladies, who resided in New Jersey, that the custom of bundling was perfectly common. Such great command have the females acquired, that several who have bundled for years, it is said, have never permitted any improper liberties. Indeed, it is considered as not in the least indelicate: the females say, that the Dutch boys would never think of acting improperly.

In the large towns and cities, the intercourse



between unmarried persons is conducted with similar decorum to that in Great Britain. The education of the young ladies is generally more superficial than in England; this in a great measure may be accounted for, in consequence of their impatience under restraint when at school. The American ladies are certainly more vain or conceited than the British; and it is very common for them to remark, that they possess the grace, ease, and elegance of the French, with all the modesty of the English females; thus claiming to be superior to both. In dress they imitate the French mode. A lady will not take hold of a gentleman's arm in the day-time, unless he is her husband or accepted lover.

In the United States, the citizens pretend to have no respect for titles, or names importing superiority of rank; but this is very incorrect, as there are no persons who are more vain of titles or distinctions. The president, vice-president, and governor of each state, are termed Excellency: members of congress, and legislators, are called Honourable: throughout the Union, generals, colonels, majors, captains, honourables, &c. abound: an ensign or lieutenant passes himself off as a captain; a captain, as a major; and a major, as a colonel, &c. Justices are termed "squires," and addressed by that appellative. You may go to a judge, who is a cobbler, to mend your shoes; or to a tinker, who is a 'squire, to repair an old pan. They have no lords or dukes; but if a foreign noble-

man happen to settle amongst them, and if he will administer a little to their inordinate vanity, upon him their praises are lavished. He is extolled for his abilities and feats of valour. Their credulity is then without bounds.

It is now about two years since, that a man was in New York, who called himself Baron Von Hof, who stated that he had been in the Austrian service, and that he was aid-de-camp to Prince Schwartzenberg. This man came from one of the West India islands. He had no letters of introduction, or at least no authentic ones, announcing his high birth and connections; but he pretended to be a baron. Among other pretty things, he said, there were no ladies in Europe, or in any country in the world, equal to those in the United States. For nearly two years, this baron was displaying his crosses and orders, and pretending to be in regular correspondence with the Austrian ministers. No party could be considered complete at the city of New York, unless Baron Von H. was present. Invitations flowed upon him: some of these expressed, that if the baron, in consequence of some prior engagement, could not attend the party the whole evening, they must insist on having at least one hour of his delightful company. The baron sported a handsome curricule, decorated with his arms; and although he was so fascinated with the citizen republicans, yet his servants were attired in a splendid livery. To support all this style or appearance, money, "*d'argent, beaucoup*

*d'argent*," was necessary. To supply this, nothing was more easy than to draw bills on Europe, which accordingly were drawn to the amount of about thirty thousand dollars; but unfortunately these bills were returned dishonoured. Before these bills, however, were so returned, some persons began to suspect this baron of being an impostor, which luckily prevented his marriage with a young lady of fortune and respectability; for notwithstanding, as it was afterwards stated, he had two wives living, one at Munster and the other at St. Thomas's, yet the villain had the audacity to propose an alliance in America.

When suspicion or certainty became so strong against this knave, that he could no longer brave public opinion, he determined to play off the scoundrel or fool to the last. He shot himself through the side; but the wound not being mortal, he made a will, leaving thousands of dollars to one or two young ladies, a large dwelling house to another, and four or five thousand dollars in aid of the funds of the Catholic cathedral. On recovering from his wound, he was seized by the officers, and in a short time afterwards was lodged in the debtors' gaol.

If this man had been a handsome person, of fine address or manners, there would have been some excuse for the ladies, and for the conduct of these republicans; instead of this, he was an insignificant, vacant-looking, hunch-backed fellow, whose conversation was meagre, excepting in the

common tittle-tattle of the day. In short, he had nothing but his pretended title, to recommend him to notice; but this, and telling the ladies they were more beautiful and accomplished than any others, and chiming with the men in their assertions, that the country was the finest, and the men the bravest, in the world, was quite sufficient to support the deception for a long time. It was said, that this pretended baron was a Jew, of low origin, who had followed the allied army, in order to sell trinkets, and buy watches, &c. from the soldiers.

After the public conversation had subsided relative to this pretended baron, an accusation appeared against the managers of the lottery at New York. This was first promulgated by a daily newspaper, called the *Republican Chronicle*, and eventually led to the development of most shameful practices. It was discovered that one of the managers, for a series of years, had been in the habit of not putting all the tickets into the wheel. The boys who drew the tickets were in the secret. Some of the lottery-office keepers, and the manager who opened the tickets, were in collusion; the tickets were insured, and as they were never in the wheel, they pretended to draw them whenever they thought proper. The way these lottery frauds were discovered, was this; the manager who opened the tickets desired some of his friends, who were not in the secret, not to insure certain numbers. This led to a suspicion that all

was not right; and eventually to an exposure of the infamous scheme, but not until some persons had made great fortunes by this species of villany. In one lottery, all the prizes were obtained by three individuals, or their immediate connections; one of whom was the contractor, and another, one of the directors of the lottery. I have frequently heard the citizens laugh at the circumstance, and say it was a smart trick.

The habits of intoxication among the inhabitants have frequently been noticed, but great excuses certainly must be made for their contracting this propensity, from the excessive heat of the climate in summer. It is a circumstance, however, which is much to be deplored. Boys, perfect children, are subject to this vile habit. I have frequently heard boys of only fifteen or sixteen years of age boast of their drunken feats. This vice pervades all classes. I have heard young men boast of having drunk forty glasses of mixture in the short space of six hours. Of this, compound spirit was the principal ingredient, and each glass would hold nearly half a pint.

These drinkers commence in the morning before breakfast with brandy and bitters, or gin and bitters, eye-openers, or fog dispersers, &c.; afterwards, during the day, toddy, milk punch, mint julep, &c. are introduced. These vices contaminate every branch of society. The young imitate the example of the more advanced in years, and it is not uncommon to meet with perfect boys, in the taverns,

smoking segars, chewing tobacco, swearing and drinking.

There is likewise a great propensity to the vice of gaming. Many will risk half their property at cards; and some thousands of dollars are won and lost by persons who possess but little wealth. An individual in England, who, from the property he possessed, would consider it imprudent to risk more than a pound at a game of chance or hazard, may find individuals similarly circumstanced, in the United States, who would risk hundreds of dollars. In the city of New York, gaming is prohibited by law, yet there are nearly two hundred billiard tables within its precincts. At many of these, great numbers assemble, and some of the rooms are filled with boys. I have seen at least twenty boys surrounding a billiard table, playing at a sort of game of chance they call cut-throat. This is played in the following manner. First, each deposits a quarter of a dollar with the table-keeper. The keeper then puts a quantity of numbered balls into one of the pockets; the number of balls he thus places, is according to the number who have deposited their money; and then giving each a ball, he who chances to obtain the one with the highest number, takes the whole sum thus deposited; the table-keeper reserving sixpence, equal to threepence-farthing English, for his trouble. The table-keepers will often obtain a dollar and a half an hour, by this cut-throat game. One writer, speaking of the United States,

has observed, that they have no cock-fights; but at present, in the city of New York, it is perfectly common for two or three cock-fights regularly to take place every week. The admittance to some of these places is one dollar, including a little supper. I was once taken to view the game-cocks of one individual, which amounted to sixty or seventy, and was told that no English cocks were a match for theirs. The betting at these cock-fights, I understand, is very great in the United States.

There are in the city of New York several professed gamblers, who live by keeping pharaon tables, &c. One person, who for a long time had supported himself in this way, was at length obliged to leave New York; and he afterwards went to reside in New Orleans, where, until very lately, gaming was sanctioned by law. He stated, that at New York it frequently occurred, that persons who had, as he expressed it, honourably lost their money, would return the following day, and insist upon his restoring the amount. In some cases he had been obliged not only to refund what they had thus lost, but to give them a handsome *douceur* to prevent their informing the magistracy, and thus procuring his indictment. In Virginia, the legislature have prohibited all sorts of gaming by the most severe laws they could frame; but the people cannot be restrained. There is a passion for gaming nearly throughout the whole country. In New Orleans there have been many lamentable

occurrences, in consequence of the public licensed gambling houses. Some men who have come down the river from Kentucky, Ohio, and other distant parts, bringing the whole annual produce of their farms, &c.; after they have disposed of it, have been known to lose, in one night, the whole amount they had received, and to return home penniless. At present, gaming is prohibited at New Orleans.

Throughout the country, there are a great many boarding-houses, which local circumstances have called into existence. In the United States there are no commercial travellers; consequently, the shop or store keepers are obliged to repair to the large towns, to procure the different articles they may want. There is, therefore, always a great concourse of persons at the principal sea-ports, to purchase groceries, woollens, cotton goods, &c. To the larger country towns in the interior, persons also resort, to purchase from the larger shop or store keeper. There is, likewise, another reason which causes boarding-houses to be encouraged; this arises from the high price of house-rent, servants' wages, and fuel. At some places, persons can live much cheaper as boarders than in keeping house. Every inn or tavern may be termed a boarding-house; and it is equally as cheap to live here, as at places not dignified with the name of hotel. In all inns and boarding-houses there is nothing to give the servants; the keeper of the house pays them their wages, with which they are satisfied. The Americans eat a considerable quan-



tity of animal food. Few persons who could afford it, would consider that their breakfast had been complete without a beef-steak, or some other equally substantial equivalent. There is no country where so much animal food is consumed. Fish, flesh, fowls, sausages, &c. are at the breakfast-table, in all the principal boarding-houses. At dinner, the table is loaded with meat; and at supper, dinner is almost again repeated. At some of the boarding-houses, the guests are furnished with four meals.

In country places there are very few persons who can be said to be in want; but in the large sea-port towns many endure extreme poverty. Every winter, thousands have to apply for relief; but it gives me great pleasure to state, that relief is promptly applied. The citizens are certainly very charitable. In many places, I have witnessed it. At New Orleans, a sum of 500 dollars was given to one family, the father of whom was an Englishman, to enable them to join their friends at Boston, of which place the mother was a native.

In many of the cities, the high price of fuel and rent is severely felt by the lower classes. This causes several families to live in one house. There are even instances of two families living in one room; the consequences of which are highly injurious to the health of the inhabitants. Although it may be said, that the citizens are unfriendly to strangers, yet there are many instances to the contrary. Several clerical characters have

been well received, and for their labours have had handsome salaries allowed. At the bar of New York, there is a Mr. Emmet, an Irishman, who was cordially received by all the attorneys and counsellors of that place. He is, indeed, considered as at the head of the profession, yet it is but justice to say, that several counsellors (native Americans) are no way his inferior; either as to ability in pleading, or knowledge of the law. One great cause of Mr. Emmet's success at the Bar, may have arisen from the circumstance of so many of his countrymen residing in the city of New York. Nearly the whole of the Irish there are decided republicans; the name of Emmet was, therefore, a passport to their confidence, and him they employed before all others.

In the United States, the sons of Erin have found an asylum. Goaded and persecuted in their own country, they have fled to America by thousands; and for the benefit of this their adopted country, they are lavish of their blood and treasure, in all cases whenever either has been required. Throughout the United States there are not more devoted or more useful citizens than the Irish. Having left their own country, disgusted with rulers who appear to have no wish to conciliate or gain the esteem of the people; and dissatisfied also with a clergy, whom, by their Catholic creed, they consider heretics, yet who are feeding and gorging on their labour or industry; we may cease to wonder why the Irish are enthusiastically attached to

the government of the United States. This enthusiasm has, however, been abused; for circumstances sometimes occur, in which the uneducated Irish are made a sort of political stepping-stone for some democratic demagogue to exalt himself.

The Americans frequently boast of their great hospitality; and in some respects they have much reason to do so. With the wealthy planters in the Southern States, a person well introduced will always find a welcome; and throughout the Union, in the country, they certainly are always ready to assist each other. If a field has to be cleared of stones, they have what is termed a stone frolic, at which all the neighbours will come, some bringing waggons and horses, for which service the owner or occupier of the field is expected merely to give victuals and drink. If Indian corn has to be husked, there will be a frolic for that also; and in nearly every thing which requires the labour of several persons, the neighbours will go and assist. It is the same with the females. If they wish the quilt or coverlet of a bed to be made, the females have a quilting frolic, at which all in the neighbourhood willingly assemble, and by their joint industry the work will thus be completed in a few hours.

For the clergy, in country places, once or twice a year, they have what they denominate a "bee," or "hive." On these occasions, the members of his congregation, and such others as choose, repair to the minister's dwelling, each person taking some-

thing, either an article of clothing or victuals, such as hams, hung beef, &c. which they present as a voluntary offering. This custom or disposition of the citizens is extremely praiseworthy.

In travelling through the country, in all those places which have been long settled, there are stages for the conveyance of passengers; or if there be a stream to be crossed, it is sure that a good steam or horse-boat will be furnished. The country being intersected by so many rivers, this mode of conveyance affords great facilities. In the Western Country, persons can go thousands of miles in these boats. In the Atlantic states, there is, however, considerable travelling by stages. Many of the coaches are very convenient vehicles; but in the height of summer, it would be dangerous from the excessive heat which is often experienced, to go on the outside; and in the Eastern, and some other states, to travel outside in the winter would be equally hazardous, from the intense cold. Their public stages, therefore, are not well adapted for the conveyance of outside passengers. They are generally covered with leather, and made in such a way, that the air may circulate freely in summer. They are calculated for nine or twelve passengers. Several of these public stages are, however, nothing better than covered waggons on springs. The expense of travelling in the United States is very similar to what it is in England; but they have not the foolish custom of paying coachmen and guards. English people are, how-

ever, often offended at the freedom of the drivers, for many of them are proprietors of the stages; but if merely a common driver conducts the horses, he places himself on an equality with the passengers, and if they dine on the road, he sits at the same table; for every white man, pursuing an industrious occupation, considers himself on an equality. There is no American, let his situation be ever so high, who will scruple to travel in any public vehicle, and mix with the white company who happen to be journeying the same way.

In most of the large cities, there are hackney-coaches, for the convenience of the inhabitants; and which are regulated by laws very similar to those in Great Britain, but the charge of conveyance is much higher. Thus, in the city of New York, the least fare is a quarter of a dollar; but if there should be four passengers, it is a quarter of a dollar for each. The keeping or hiring out of hackney-coaches, gigs, and sleighs, is often very profitable in the large cities; for the inhabitants very cheerfully spend their money for coach and gig riding. In winter, in those parts where snow falls, they are passionately delighted with sleigh riding. Every sleigh, every horse, is then in requisition; and the bells which are put on the horses drawing sleighs, are ringing in every inhabited part of these states. This is the season of dancing and merriment; at this time almost every person who possesses a dollar will willingly part with it to have a sleigh ride. Some of their sleighs are beautifully gilt and deco-

rated. There certainly is not in general so much of that ostentatious display as in England. The wealthy inhabitants of New York and Baltimore imitate the British more in this respect than any others throughout the Union. The furniture of American dwellings is not so costly; many respectable persons are satisfied with wood and rush-bottomed chairs: but to some of the houses in the large towns, this remark will not apply.

In the cities, many of their dwellings are good substantial brick buildings; and some are built with stone, where that material is near. To build a good residence in New York or Philadelphia, of brick, stone, or marble, would cost about from twenty to twenty-five per cent. more than in London. A good house, twenty-five feet front, with kitchens on the ground floor, two parlours, being two stories in height, but having rooms for servants in the attic, will cost about four thousand five hundred dollars, or near one thousand pounds English.

In all their cities the greatest part of the houses are wood erections; several are merely brick-fronted. The wood, or, as they are termed, frame buildings, will endure for about half a century, and these can be erected for about one half the price of brick or stone buildings. In the country towns and places, there are very few brick or stone houses. The back settler is contented with his log house, and the others are frame buildings. These frame buildings are erected, first by a frame-

work of strong timber, then boards or planks are nailed on the outside.

Their dwellings or houses are more adapted for being pleasant in summer, than for resisting the cold of winter. The windows and doors are so placed, that there may be a free current or circulation of air in warm weather. By this it would appear they are aware of the excessive heat of summer being more injurious than the intense cold of winter.

In summer, many persons resort to the mineral springs of Ballston and Saratoga, in the state of New York; some go to the sea-shore, and numbers from the Southern States repair to the Eastern ones. The establishments or hotels, at these springs, or at the sea-bathing places, are conducted in a manner very similar to the hotels at Harrowgate, Buxton, Brighton, &c. in Great Britain; but conversation at the table in their hotels, is certainly not conducted with that spirit and decorum which characterize the watering places in England. Their detestable habit of swearing, is extremely disagreeable; and there is also a greater degree of taciturnity with the gentlemen; it would appear sometimes, as if they considered it laborious to speak. To the British, they certainly will not let any opportunity pass, where they can boast of their naval victories; and likewise that by land at New Orleans. The Americans boast of every thing which they possess in their country; and every thing of which they boast, they term the finest in

the world,—they always speak as regards themselves in the superlative.

The English are accused by foreigners, of a proneness to the commission of suicide; but my opinion is, that in the United States, in proportion to the population, there are more suicides committed than in England. Whilst I resided in that country, there were many instances of self-murder; some of which were committed in the most cool and deliberate manner. The death of a young man at New York will never be erased from my memory. I happened to be in that city on the day when that beautiful ship of the line, the *Ohio*, was launched. I was later at tea than usual at the boarding-house where I stopped. A young gentleman, an attorney at law, and who was an officer in the militia, was the only person who took tea with me; indeed we were alone in the room. Our conversation was relative to the fineness of the day, and of the launch. The young man appeared absorbed; something evidently dwelt upon his mind, and he complained of the disagreeable and irksome duty to which he was subjected as a captain of the militia. After he left me, I was informed he joined a family circle, and entered cheerfully into the conversation of the company. The following morning he did not appear at breakfast, and it was supposed that a bullet had passed through the outward door of his office. The window shutters were forced open, and we entered the inner apartment where he was



accustomed to sleep; there he was on the bed, sleeping the sleep of death. It appeared that he had taken a musket, had tied the two ends of his cravat to the trigger, laid himself upon the bed, placing the muzzle of the piece under his chin; he then put one foot within the cravat, thus discharging its contents, and rushing into eternity. This young man was one of considerable talent.

There is one thing of which the citizens have good reason to boast; that is, the alacrity and regularity which are displayed, if a fire occurs in their cities. At New York, I have been witness to the arrival of no less than twenty fire engines, in the space of ten minutes after the fire had been discovered. In Philadelphia, there is the same celerity. In the United States, every citizen being bound or obliged to perform military duty, the legislatures of some of the states excuse this service, and likewise that of serving on juries, on condition that a person will become a fireman. The consequence is, that a number of respectable persons enter themselves, and are regularly attached to fire engines. These people choose the captain of the engine, and the principal fireman. To these, the state has granted great powers. In case of a fire, the principal fireman can order any buildings to be taken down, to arrest the progress of this destructive element. They have also power to make by-laws for enforcing the regular attendance of the firemen; and they thus compel them to attend; for if any

are absent from the engine house after a certain number of minutes, when the alarm of fire has been given, they are fined; and this fine can be levied or enforced by order of the principal fireman, who has power to commit the person to gaol. The firemen are extremely bold and daring, indeed, they sometimes display too much temerity; but, whatever activity, exertion, or daring, can accomplish, in extinguishing fires, that is done in the cities of the United States. And it may be truly said, that in any and every case where personal courage is concerned, the citizens are not inferior to any people in the world.

There is one excellent regulation at the city of New York, relative to public carters of goods or merchandise. Every person is obliged to attend to his cart or car; nor is any person allowed to possess more than one: by this means, hundreds of families obtain a good and honest livelihood, while monopoly is prevented.—Many persons complain of that extreme inquisitiveness of the citizens in the Eastern States, asking all sorts of questions of any stranger with whom they chance to be in company. I cannot say that this arises from any impertinent curiosity, although it is very disagreeable. I always found the best way of getting rid of these troublesome questions was, to ask them one in return, and this generally led to a communication of all their own and their neighbours' concerns: by this means I avoided giving offence.

The Americans have a number of debating societies, but in general they read their speeches. At these meetings they usually adopt a bombastic, inflated style; and this is still more the case in their orations on the fourth of July, the birthday of their Independence. In their speeches, they boast of their naval victories, their fine country, great power, high destiny, every thing the best and greatest in the world. This mode of talking with each other serves to keep alive a spirit of freedom, and as such it may be useful; but it is nevertheless disagreeable to foreigners.

Perhaps, however, the boasts which are continually made at our public meetings in England, of our glorious constitution in church and state, are equally as disgusting to Americans, who may conceive many of our established clergy as lazy drones, living upon the honey which others have procured, or as task-masters gathering where they have not strewed. As for the British constitution, the Americans merely consider it the semblance of a free one.

It is well known, that after the battle of Waterloo, fatal to the power of Napoleon, and which extinguished for ever the political hopes of the whole Bonaparte family, Joseph Bonaparte, and several distinguished French officers, fled to the United States. For some time after his arrival this ex-king of Spain received from his attendants the customary honours paid to a monarch. - In that republican country, it was, however, soon discovered

that this sort of attention was ridiculous for them to give, and for him to receive. It was, therefore, in a short time discontinued ; and he wished to be considered, and actually became in his manners, the simple citizen, and is now treated as such by all around him. Joseph Bonaparte constantly expresses himself as being more happy and content in his present situation, than when he swayed the sceptre. The throne of Spain was certainly not to him a bed of roses ; too many thorns were mixed. He now displays a great elevation of mind, and considerable portions of his immense riches are devoted to charitable purposes ; many Frenchmen have partaken of his bounty.

With respect to his brother Napoleon, it was his wish also to flee to America, and it certainly is to be deplored that he was not permitted to go thither. Had he been permitted to reside in the United States, and had he become, like his brother, a simple citizen of that republic, it would have been a singular circumstance in the history of man. Napoleon's life was indeed wonderful. He was educated by a king ; he was elevated by a republic, being termed the child and champion of jacobinism. He expressed his attachment to liberty, equality, fraternity, &c. ; but becoming the chief, and idol of the soldiery, he trampled on the liberties of his country, overthrowing the only edifice in which there was a vestige of freedom ; and, mounting on its recumbent or prostrate column, he decorated himself with an imperial diadem, and

gave crowns as other monarchs bestowed provinces. With scarcely an exception, all the potentates in Europe merely shone with what lustre he thought proper; they therefore only reflected some of the rays of Napoleon's glory. At one time his eagles floated triumphantly before the walls of Lisbon, and on the ruins of Moscow, which was reduced to ashes to arrest his powerful footsteps. At length the elements overcame him. He was dethroned. Returning to a country where the soldiers were proud of their former chieftain, he was re-established; but the mass of the people knew, that to aggrandize himself was more his aim than to benefit the country, therefore he was not properly supported; and in the battle of Waterloo, the sun of his glory set, to rise no more. In some respects, Napoleon was frank, open, generous, and magnanimous; he thought that the Britons, his greatest and bravest foes, if he cast himself on their generosity, would have granted him an asylum. Alas, alas! they cast him on a barren rock. He was sent to St. Helena, where his days have been shortened by "the recollections of past greatness, and the stings of remorse and despair." With respect to the French generals, nearly all those who have been allowed to return to France have embraced the opportunity, and left the United States.

At the commencement of this chapter, I stated, that the manners, customs, &c. of the inhabitants of the United States were different, in consequence

of different sections having been originally settled by persons from various countries ; at present there is a marked distinction arising from other causes. The Eastern States no longer tolerate slavery. This is the case with all excepting New Jersey, and in that state there is to be a gradual abolition. In the Southern States, slavery exists. In the Eastern States, nearly all the inhabitants are religious, and property is likewise very equally divided ; at least it is as much so as can possibly be in any community whatever. Every citizen considers himself upon an equality. The richer or higher order may talk of the first standing, or first grade, yet every man who earns an honest livelihood considers himself as equal to another, nor will he employ any term expressive of inferiority, although he may be a workman. In the New England states, the morals of the people are particularly exemplary ; and there is no country where there is so much shrewdness or sagacity ; in some instances, it is true, this becomes low cunning.

The people of these states are in general hardy and robust. Those who dwell near the sea-coast are particularly so. The New England states produce the best seamen. Boys, though perfect children, if they dwell near the sea-coast, are acquainted with the management of boats. The most dexterous fishermen are obtained in these states. The whalers from Nantucket are not excelled, if equalled, any where. From the whole of these states, there is a constant emigration to the back

settlements. The people being of very industrious habits, prosper wherever they go; and it is a common remark in the United States, that "a Yankee will go as far with one dollar, as any one else would with three." Their habits are certainly very frugal. In every part of the Union, the Yankees are to be met with. Some of them travel with waggons to sell tin-ware, wooden bowls, &c. and many of them by this means have acquired moderate fortunes. Learning being generally diffused throughout New England, these states furnish lawyers, parsons, schoolmasters, &c. in abundance. The New England states may certainly be considered as a specimen of what a free republican government will effect in the manners, feelings, and actions of the people. For in these states they are all freemen; every man, in a public office, is merely considered as a servant of the people; they, therefore, freely canvass the merits or demerits of all public characters. There are few who are very rich, and none who are very poor; many of them work on their own land, and, if they require help, they obtain the voluntary aid of freemen, to whom they must give, for one day's work, as much as would provide bread for four persons for a week. The whole of the people are politicians; all being able to read, they all read newspapers.

The states of New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, are somewhat different; learning is not so generally diffused, nor property so equally distributed, as in the New England states. Emi-

grants also are continually arriving ; and hence, in the city of New York, there are a great number of Irish labourers. When slavery shall be abolished in all these states, there can be no doubt they will be more assimilated to the New England states. In all those which I have classed as Eastern States, Sunday-schools are common ; and whenever a schoolmaster can be but tolerably supported, the place is sure to be supplied. No one in the United States wishes to be under the control of another ; and rather than be an assistant at an academy, even with a respectable salary, every one prefers going to a country town or village to be a schoolmaster.

I was once in New Jersey, when, being too early for the stage, I determined to proceed a few miles. Pursuing my course, I overtook a young man who was walking ; he had a bundle under his arm, which probably contained the whole of his wardrobe. Upon my coming near him, he asked me, if I knew of any village where they were in want of a schoolmaster. I replied in the negative. On entering into conversation, he informed me, that for two years previously, he had been an assistant at an academy kept by a clergyman in the state of New York ; but he had left his situation, as he preferred keeping a school himself. The reason he assigned was, that he thought he should be in a more independent situation. He also said, that he knew he had a good gift at prayer, so that he would take a room in some village, where he



might keep a school, conduct a prayer meeting, and preach occasionally. I inquired of him if he ever had preached? He stated that he had delivered two sermons, the last of which was particularly admired; it was to shew that modern astronomy was not inconsistent with the sacred writings. I told him I thought he had been delivering one of Chalmers' sermons, at which he was greatly confused; but on admitting the fact, he said, that he had made great additions and improvements.

I continued to walk with him for about two miles, and, in the course of that distance, he had stopped two or three waggons; inquiring if a schoolmaster was wanted. At length he stopped one which contained a farmer and his wife going to the city of New York; and upon the question being put, he said they were in want of one, and he might have fourteen or fifteen scholars to commence with; but, said the farmer, though I shall not reach home for three days, go to my house and remain there until my return, when I have no doubt we can fix you. I mention this circumstance to shew the extreme facility with which persons obtain employment. In the newly settled states, there are many instances of schoolmasters, lawyers, doctors, and parsons, all going in quest of employment. It is the same with all sorts of mechanics.

In those which I have termed in this work the Middle States, the manners, &c. of the inhabitants differ materially from those of the people

in the Eastern States. Here, as slavery exists, and manual labour is to be performed by slaves, many of the owners of plantations, and their families, saunter away their time in enervating indolence. That vigour of mind which characterises all the inhabitants of New England, is possessed by few in the states of which I am now treating; and these few are engaged in mercantile pursuits, who, although they see idleness and listlessness all around them, yet are free from this contaminating and contagious effects. Wherever there are slaves, or wherever some individuals are in such a miserable state of poverty that they become servile to their masters or employers, the latter will grow arrogant, idle, and ostentatious, and the former will be abject and base. In the Southern States, slavery exists in its fullest force; and it has a sensible effect on the manners of the white inhabitants. In Virginia, Maryland, North Carolina, and all the Southern States, they differ very little in their moral character; and are far from being so strict in that respect as in the Eastern, and more especially in the New England States. In favour of the white ladies, an exception, however, must be made; they are equally as virtuous and accomplished as any in the Union. Yet in their manners there is a degree of idleness and listlessness, that is not captivating. This, in some respects, is the effect of the climate, and in others the consequence of having slaves to perform every thing requiring the least exertion.

In the Western Country, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Missouri, are slave-holding states; but Ohio, Illinois, and Indiana, will not allow of this abominable traffic. In the state of Ohio, the inhabitants differ very little in their manners, &c. from those of the Eastern States: and in Illinois and Indiana, there is no doubt they will be the same; but in the others, slavery will have the same injurious effect as in the slave-holding Atlantic, and Southern States.

The English language in the United States is well spoken, and there is not that variety of dialect as in Great Britain. When some Yorkshire persons have come over to America, and spoken the language in that manner which is peculiar to some of the lower classes there; the Americans have been perfectly astonished, and could not understand them. Some of the Yankies, however, have rather a nasal sound in their pronunciation. There are some peculiarities in their mode of expression, and especially in the use of the word *guess*. When they are asked, for instance, if they have been at a certain place, the answer will be, "I guess I have," even when they mean to convey an idea of positive certainty. Should you wish the positive promise of an American to do any thing for you, if he says, "I guess I will," you may be assured he will perform it. Another mode of expression, and which I have heard used by persons of education, is, instead of saying, You should not have acted thus, they would

say, "You had not ought to have acted thus." I have heard this expression from eminent counsellors. There are some other trifling peculiarities, but certainly the language may be said to be well spoken throughout the Union.

In this chapter, I have mentioned the manners of some of the citizens as being very rude; to myself as an European it was disagreeable; but it may have arisen entirely from a false prejudice of education on my own part. In England, those persons who are employed by a gentleman, approach him in a subservient manner, giving him the appellation of Master, taking off the hat, and shewing every mark of humiliation. This, in the eyes of an American, would appear dastardly and contemptible. They think, after the labourer has earned his money by performing his work, he is under no greater obligation to the employer, than a merchant is to a shopkeeper, who buys and pays for his goods. In the United States, no workman conceives himself obliged to his employer. Sometimes, when I have been wanting a workman, when persons have applied, and I have told them what I would give as wages, the workman has said, "I will come, to oblige you:" and indeed in a country where there is plenty of work, the obligation is the greatest on the part of the employer. Why should any man, because he happens to be possessed of a little sordid dross, wish to have his fellow-creatures in a servile state? Upon a cool consideration of the

subject, we must be pleased to see so perfectly independent a spirit, among all the white inhabitants throughout the whole country. It is derogatory to human nature, that any should be considered as base and servile. In the United States, every white man, by honest industry, may become independent; that is, he need not go to the rich, and cringe and fawn, placing himself nearly upon a level with the brute. If he be a workman, he may use the language of honest independence, because he knows that the obligation he is under to the employer, and the obligation that employer is under to him, are equal and reciprocal.

This independent conduct of the workmen, may prevent the rapid rise of manufactories, for every one prefers being his own master, to the working for any other person whatever. Cherishing this independent spirit, they chuse to cultivate the earth, the soil of which appears grateful, and hence the face of the country changes every year. It is not at all uncommon, for a person to go at one time to a place where there will be nothing but wood, and, returning to the same spot only two years afterwards, a town or village will be seen, containing more than a thousand inhabitants. What a contrast does this exhibit to a country where the people groan under the effects of despotism! Where is the land on which ancient Carthage stood? Where is that fruitful, that delightful part of Africa, which was once the most enchanting place on which the sun ever shone?

The curse of despotism, or of a bad government, is upon it; and the earth, always appearing indignant at being trodden upon by the feet of slaves, soon becomes a wilderness, under despotic sway. A despotic government resembles a pestilential vapour, which depopulates countries, and dries up or withers the energies and faculties of mankind. Under its influence, the soil casts up noxious weeds and plants; the hated and loathsome reptile basks in swamps, which were once fruitful fields; and the savage monsters of the forest acquire vigour and boldness, appearing to boast that a government exists like their own, where carnage and rapine are the chief delights of the rulers.

The United States are flourishing, and the people are comparatively happy; their manners may appear rude to an European; but let him cast off in that country the trammels of European prejudice, and he will find cause to rejoice at the language and manners of honest independence. Let the Americans likewise cast off a little of their vanity and conceit; let them abandon their bombastic expressions, and repress the boastings of their greatness, which at present is only budding; let them make more allowances for European prejudices;—and the country of the United States will thus be rendered more pleasant for every one who emigrates.

## CHAP. XVII.

## LITERATURE, FINE ARTS, EDUCATION, &amp;c.

IN consequence of there being so few wealthy individuals in the United States, the higher branches of the fine arts are not so much encouraged or cultivated as in Great Britain. It is only in a country where there is a profusion of wealth, where the opulent vie with each other to possess those sorts of distinguished ornaments which make an ostentatious display, that those high prices will be given for the beautiful productions of the chisel or the pencil, which will encourage men of genius and talent to devote their mind or energies to produce these works of art. The United States is not that country; and the law which equally divides the property of a father amongst his children, will prevent it being such a country for many years hence. At present, there are few individuals who have the means to make a handsome collection either of paintings or statuary.

In England, there are many private collections valued at more than 100,000*l.*: this is a sum that few individuals in the United States possess. Many paintings have been sent from Italy, France, England, &c. but in general they have been sold at

prices far inferior to what could have been obtained for them in Europe. There is but little encouragement for artists, excepting for the useful sort of engravers; and in this department the Americans are not excelled. The bank-notes engraved by Murray, Draper, and Co. of Philadelphia, are not equalled in Great Britain. Several other excellent engravers might be mentioned.

With respect to literary attainments, America certainly cannot boast of men of such distinguished acquirements as those which fill the chairs in the British institutions. Several causes operate to prevent it. The professors of their colleges are not so well paid as those in England. There are very few, if any, fellowships. This prevents that stimulus in the young students, which in Great Britain is such an incentive to application. All the young men in the United States are educated for some employment, either for merchants, the practice of the law, physic, or divinity. Very few, however, in the United States, are educated for the Catholic priesthood. The priests of this community are generally obtained from Ireland, or some other part of Europe. The colleges or universities which have acquired the greatest celebrity, are Havard, Yale, Princeton, &c. Those of Philadelphia and New York are justly esteemed in the medical department. A college education in the United States would not cost one third as much as at Cambridge or Oxford; but there are several private academies in England, where the education would



equal that of an American university. There are boarding-schools in different parts of the Union, the price or expense of which is very similar to what it is in Great Britain.

In modern literary works, the language of the country being English, they have the benefit of all British productions, and without having the price of the book enhanced by the payment of any thing to the author for copy-right. This is injurious to their literati; for it would be beneficial to them if a copy-right were allowed to foreign authors; in that case, the works of British writers must be sold at a higher price than at present; and it would of consequence follow, that the booksellers would be better able to pay an American author.

The only American author who has been particularly successful is Washington Irving, the author of *New York, by Knickerbocker*; *Salmagundi*; and the *Sketch Book*, by Geoffrey Crayon, Esq. This gentleman has acquired great celebrity as a writer, not only in America, but also in Great Britain. There is no doubt, that many citizens of the United States, had they been but tolerably well paid for their first productions, would have contributed to the republic of letters, works which would have honoured themselves, and redounded to the credit of the country. One of these would have been Woodworth, of New York, who, as a writer, either in prose or poetry, is far beyond mediocrity. Some of his poems would have done credit to

**Moore.** Another was Scott, of New Jersey, who composed excellent poetry with great facility.

Most of the popular British works are republished in the United States, and in a form which enables the bookseller to dispose of them at one-half the price at which they are sold in England. The works of Sir Walter Scott, Lord Byron, Moore, Mrs. Opie, Lady Morgan, Miss Edgeworth, and the popular novels of Guy Mannering, Waverley, Rob Roy, &c. have all been republished. The Edinburgh and Quarterly Reviews, and also several other British magazines and periodical works, that may be deemed purely literary and scientific, are republished. In theology, Chalmers' Sermons, and other popular works in divinity, together with several of the periodical publications, such as the Christian and Evangelical Magazines, &c. are also regularly republished. Likewise some of the Encyclopedias, such as Britannica, Londinensis, Rees', Perthensis, &c. have been reprinted, but not in a manner equal to the original publications. There are several periodical works published in Boston, New York, Philadelphia, &c. and in many instances considerable talent is displayed.

There are, perhaps, more newspapers published in the United States, in proportion to the population, than in any other country whatever. In the city of New York, there are nine daily papers; and in Philadelphia an equal number, besides those of three times a week, and weekly ones. It is supposed that there are more than

seven hundred published every week; and that above eighty thousand are daily circulated. There certainly is not much talent displayed in them. In general, low, scurrilous, and abusive writing, characterises most of these publications. There are, however, many exceptions to this remark.

In the Eastern Territories, the common branches of education are so particularly attended to, that state legislatures in general furnish large sums to provide schoolmasters. In all of these, but more particularly so in New England, there are scarcely any native white citizens who cannot both read and write, and who have not some knowledge of accounts.

The plans of Lancaster and Bell have been successfully introduced into many of their public schools. But one cause which obstructs education is, the too independent spirit of these republican children; they will not be held under a proper restraint, nor will they obey their teachers as they ought. Englishmen who have undertaken their tuition, have frequently told me, that their impatience under rebuke rendered it impossible to teach them with the facility with which they had instructed children in England. A gentleman who went to New York, for the purpose of giving instruction in music, according to Logier's system, informed me, that all his attempts had proved abortive, for the children would not be kept under the requisite restraint.

In concluding this chapter upon education,

I must say, that the inordinate vanity of the citizens greatly prevents them from excelling Europeans in the higher walks of literature. To feed this vanity the President informed them, not long since, that "they were the most enlightened nation in the world." This, however, was no more than a mere echo of the general opinion entertained in the United States. Certainly there are and have been men of great endowments among them; but they have not yet produced a Newton, a Milton, a Locke, or a Davy; &c. When they have produced men like these, then they may very properly vaunt, but not till then.

We ought not, however, to forget, that such suns of glory only mount above the horizon, in nations that have long existed in wealth and independence. Many ages passed away before England gave birth to these exalted characters, and therefore some centuries must elapse before the comparison can be fairly made. In the science of government, the Americans perhaps equal the legislators of any other country; and the name of Washington and of Franklin will be as immortal as the independence of their country.

## CHAP. XVIII.

## RELIGION.

**RELIGION**, in the United States, is, as it ought to be, free from all restraints; it is left between a man's conscience and his God. According to the constitution of the country, no one particular sect, or indeed particular religion, acknowledging a God, and professing a belief in a future state of rewards and punishments, is more favoured than another.

Agreeably to this spirit of the constitution, some of the states have made their enactments: thus, in Virginia, the act relative to religion runs as follows:—"Be it therefore enacted, by the general assembly, that no man shall be compelled to frequent or support any religious worship, place, or ministry whatsoever, nor shall be enforced, restrained, molested, or burdened, in his body or goods; nor shall otherwise suffer on account of his religious opinions or belief; but that all men shall be free to profess, and by argument to maintain, their opinions in matters of religion; and that the same shall in no wise diminish, enlarge, or affect their civil capacities." In the Eastern States, the Presbyterians, including Con-

gregationalists, are most numerous. This arises in consequence of the Puritans, who, to escape persecution, left their native country, and first settled in New England. But I have already alluded to this circumstance in the chapter entitled "History."

In the whole of the Eastern States, there are however, professors of nearly all the different forms and tenets, which christian zeal has promulgated, enthusiasm inculcated, or disordered fancies projected. Let it not be thought that I mean to speak irreverently of the holy Christian evangelical religion. I read history; I view heathen Africa; I turn my attention to Asia; and there I see the idol Juggernaut, the modern Moloch. In short, wherever the Christian religion has not been established, there is nothing but a scene of unhappiness, rapine, dismay, and bloodshed. The infidel may taunt, and say, that "Christians have likewise imbrued their hands in the blood of each other." To this charge I reply, that such conduct is totally inconsistent with the mild and peaceful doctrines of Christianity. This religion presents us with a code of peaceful, just, and equitable moral laws. In seasons of adversity it cheers and consoles us; in the hour of death, when the mortal frame is congelating, it opens to us another world, where, animated and enlightened by Deity, through the merits of a Saviour, we may attain everlasting joy and felicity. What shall we say, to those unhappy mortals, who, having nothing to

substitute instead of the cheering and consoling influence of this religion, endeavour to discard it; and thus loosen all the bonds which unite civilized man? The greatest hope which the infidel can offer is, that we shall never again be re-animated after death, as though it had not required an exertion of as great a power first to create man, as it will require to restore him to vitality from the sleep of death.—The reader must forgive the digression.

In some of the states, there are yet penal laws relative to the denying certain doctrines. Thus, in New Jersey, it is punishable by fine and imprisonment, to deny the divinity of Jesus Christ, or the existence of the Holy Trinity: but I am inclined to think, that any person convicted under this act, and appealing to the supreme court of the United States, would have the conviction quashed. In South Carolina, preachers have to subscribe to an article, which runs as follows:—“That he,” the preacher, “is determined by God’s grace, out of the holy scriptures, to instruct the people committed to his charge, and to teach nothing as required, (of necessity to eternal salvation,) but that which he shall be persuaded may be concluded and proved from the scriptures; that he will use both public and private admonition, as well to the sick as the whole, within his care, as need shall require, and occasion shall be given; and that he will be diligent in prayers, and in reading of the holy scriptures, and in such

studies as help to the knowledge of the same; that he will be diligent to frame and fashion himself and his family according to the doctrines of Christ; and to make both himself and them, as much as in him lies, wholesome examples and patterns to the flock of Christ: that he will maintain and set forwards, as much as he can, quietness, peace, and love among all people, and especially among those that are or shall be committed to his charge."

I believe that the Presbyterians may be classed as the most numerous body in the United States; next to them stand the Episcopalians; then the Methodists; and after them, the Baptists. In Pennsylvania, and likewise in the state of New York, there are many Quakers. In different parts there are Roman Catholics. In the city of New York, one-fifth of the whole population are said to be of that persuasion. There are also German, Lutheran, and Dutch Reformed churches; Moravians; Universalists; Shakers, or Shaking Quakers. In Boston, and other places, there are Unitarians.

Some of the Presbyterians (excepting Congregationalists) are so rigid as to assert that there are infants in hell. With respect to doctrines, it is difficult for us to judge which among the different sects are correct; but as it respects Calvinism, it seems as if its advocates thought there was a sort of circle, in which themselves and their insignificant party *alone* moved: and in which



the vivifying and cheering influence of the mercy of God was *alone* enjoyed; that beyond this circle was the region of eternal death, where hell and Satan reigned unmolested.

The Episcopalians are similar in their form of worship to the established church of England; but they have very properly rejected the Athanasian creed; and the Lord's prayer is not so often repeated in the service. Most of the Episcopalian ministers hold the Arminian tenets; and were any of them to live in an immoral manner, they would be discarded. At New York, in 1819, one of the most eloquent preachers there, an Episcopalian, was obliged to resign, in consequence of an improper female connection.

The Methodists in America are more enthusiastic than those in England; perhaps, they are there now, what they were in Great Britain forty or fifty years since. They appear determined to take heaven by storm; their ministers are not well paid, and they have not many men of education amongst them. The climate being very dry in summer, they occasionally have camp meetings. They fix upon some place, where they erect tents, one portion of which is allotted for females to repose in at night. The morning is ushered in by singing, praying, and telling "their experience." Afterwards, there are sermons delivered, and the whole day is taken up in religious exercises. This shouting, singing, and praying work, occasionally produces in some persons a partial derangement. I have no doubt that the

promoters of these camp meetings, do it with the best intention; but to take from their family, a father and mother, who thus neglect their several occupations for a week or ten days together, does certainly appear to be the height of folly.

In some instances, I have heard in America, from the Methodists' pulpits, discourses of sound sense and reasoning: at other times I have heard sermons bordering on the ridiculous. Once, at New York, I was present when a young preacher attempted to explain, in the following manner, by what way a sinner could be saved. First, he put his hand on the Bible, saying, "You must suppose this Bible to be God the Father;" next he placed his hand on the hymn-book, and said, "You must suppose this hymn-book to be God the Son;" then, taking his pocket handkerchief, "You must suppose," says he, "that this is a poor Sinner." He then placed the three in a row; but on taking the handkerchief, and putting it on the hymn-book, "Now," he said, "the Sinner has got to God the Son;" and then putting the hymn-book and handkerchief on the Bible, "Now," said he, in an exulting tone, "the Sinner—has got to God the Father—by the Son." I did not remain to hear any farther explanation, for I immediately left the church. I merely mention this circumstance, to shew the impropriety of permitting men to preach who are so unfit; it is injurious to the cause of religion. There are many black Methodists, who are very noisy in their meetings.

The Baptists are most of them of the Calvinistic persuasion. With respect to the Quakers in America, they *practise* morality. It is a curious circumstance, that although there are so many, it is not known that there is a common labouring man amongst them.

Catholics are, of course, the same as in Europe; the Pope being considered as the supreme head of the church. The pomp of the Catholic religion is witnessed in the United States. Well may the Catholic say, My religion has endured for 1500 years, it is built on a rock, and the gates of hell never have prevailed, nor shall prevail, against it. The incense burning before the altar, and the altar with its grandeur of decoration, are exhibited to our view, especially at New Orleans, and at St. Louis. At New Orleans, I was present at the Catholic cathedral on Good Friday, 1821: there were two images, of Christ nailed to the Cross, which the votaries of Catholicism were kissing, and a man who was a priest, with a bowl, was receiving their offerings. This in some instances consisted of a dollar, in others not more than a piccalion, or the eighth part of a dollar. The *images* of a suffering Saviour produced the *reality* of hundreds of dollars into the pockets of the priests.

Of the Universalists, the tenets are, that all mankind will eventually be saved; that, according to the crimes committed in this life, will be the punishment hereafter; but that after punish-

ment all will be received into heaven. There is certainly a degree of charity in this persuasion; and the preacher at New York, a Mr. Mitchell, who is very specious, has a large, handsome church. This Mitchell was once employed by Mr. Cobbett, when at Philadelphia, to carry out his newspapers, (the Porcupine,) but no doubt he finds preaching more pleasant and more profitable. I heard the tenets of the Universalists characterized by the minister of another persuasion, as a "soft plaister, which would stick on a poor sinner's soul till he was damned to all eternity."

The Unitarians commenced in Massachusetts, and their doctrines are spreading in the United States. In Boston, there are no less than seven or eight Unitarian churches. Tudor, a late American writer, gives a description of the change of one of the churches, which, before the Revolution, was called King's Chapel, and the service was performed according to the rites and ceremonies of the Church of England. Soon after the Revolution, the greater part of the congregation changed their opinions, renounced the doctrine of the Trinity, and altered the prayers to suit their more modern opinions. Some of the congregation, however, preserved their former belief; the consequence was, a meeting took place, and the Trinitarians were outvoted. The name of the church was changed. A legacy, however, had been left, which had accumulated to a sum amount-

ing to about 1300 dollars per annum; this was left to King's Chapel. To obtain this legacy, it was requisite the church should resume the name of King's Chapel; this was accordingly done. But something more was yet wanting, for the pious founder had ordered, that a certain number of sermons should be preached in Lent, to enforce the orthodox faith of Trinitarianism; with this also they were obliged to comply.

The Moravians are highly esteemed. The Shakers, or Shaking Quakers, are a very fanciful sect, who took their rise in the year 1774. This was occasioned by a person of the name of Ann Lee, who emigrated to the United States. This Ann Lee was born in Manchester, England, in the year 1735. She married a man of the name of Stanley, a blacksmith, who was an intemperate and unkind husband. She was peculiarly unfortunate during a certain dangerous crisis, and thus lost eight children. In consequence of this, she renounced marriage, declaring it to have been the great original sin, and thus became the leader of the Shakers. Mother Ann claimed the gift of languages, of discovering the secrets of the heart, of being actuated by the invisible power of God, of sinless perfection, and of immediate revelations.

This woman died in 1784. The number of Shakers at present is about 1500. The principal place of their residence is at a village called Lebanon, in the state of New York. Their build-

ings there are commodious, and several of them are large. They are painted of an ochre yellow, and although plain, yet they make a handsome appearance. The utmost neatness is conspicuous in their fields, gardens, court-yards, and even in the road; not a weed, not a spot of filth, or any offensive matter, is suffered to remain. The fences are perfect, and every thing around them bespeaks a people laborious, regular, and skilful. Their orchards are kept with neatness, and all the fields they have under cultivation, display an agricultural excellence, which is scarcely equalled, and not surpassed, in the whole country. They possess about three thousand acres of land in the vicinity. The garden seeds which these people raise are justly celebrated throughout the Union. Several of them are engaged in mechanical employments, making sieves, brushes, pails, churns, and other domestic utensils; these are always strong and well made. The females are employed in house-work and domestic manufactures, and the community is fed and clothed by their own productions.

The property is a common stock. The products of their industry are paid into the general treasury; and with any surplus funds, the elders purchase land, &c. for the common benefit. Individual wants are supplied from a common magazine which is kept for each family. A family, with them, includes all those who live in one of their dwellings. Males and females reside

in one house, but they occupy distinct apartments, and eat at separate tables; they mix occasionally for society, labour, or worship.

There is a male and female head or superintendant to each family, who give out the provisions, allot the work, enforce order, industry, and fidelity. Their numbers are replenished and sustained by voluntary additions, and by their inducing poor people, by kindness and presents, to join their society. Where a comfortable subsistence for life, a refuge for old age, for infancy, and childhood, the reputation of piety to which they pretend, and the promise of heaven, are held out to view, it is no wonder that the ignorant, the poor, the widow, &c. will readily join this community. Their churches are neat buildings. Their worship consists in praying, preaching, singing, and especially dancing. Their elders profess to hold a direct and personal intercourse with Christ and the Apostles, and to be able to inspect the very secrets of the heart. They believe that Christ has already appeared the second time on the earth, in the person of Mother Ann; and that he is now judging the world. They say, that when all the inhabitants of the earth become Shakers, it will constitute the millennium. Several publications have appeared relative to this sect; by some of which it appears, that these people are more wild and enthusiastic than any other bearing the Christian name. Their superstition is equal to their enthusiasm. They pronounce Ann

Lee to be the saviour of the world, and even ascribe the attributes of Divinity to her. The following is one of their hymns:

Christ's second coming was in Mother Ann,  
We bless our dear Mother the chief corner-stone,  
Which God laid in Zion, the anointed One.  
Let names and sects and parties  
Accost my ears no more,  
My ever blessed Mother  
For ever I'll adore.  
Appointed by kind heaven,  
My Saviour to reveal,  
She was the Lord's anointed,  
To shew the root of sin.

These people have in several instances acted in a very inhuman manner, separating or alienating children from their parents, and husbands from their wives, and thus severing the dearest ties of our common nature, to build up their own sect.

They, however, do every thing in order; they go to church in exact order, two and two, the men taking one side of the church, the women the other.—They have, among others, the following rules. It is contrary to order, for a female to walk out alone, or be alone.—A man and woman are not allowed to converse together, except in the presence of the brethren and sisters.—If a man is on the road alone in a carriage, it is contrary to order for him to admit a woman to ride with him on any account whatsoever.—



It is contrary to the gift to leave any bars down, or gates open, or leave any thing they use out of its proper place; consequently, they seldom have any thing lost.—It is according to the gift, for all to endeavour to keep every thing in order: indolence and carelessness, they say, are directly opposite to the gospel and order of God; cleanliness, in every respect, is strongly enforced.—A dirty, careless, slovenly, or idle person, they say, cannot travel in the way of God, or be religious.—If any of them transgress the rules and orders of the church, they are not held in union until they confess their transgression, and that often on their knees, before the brothers and sisters.

These people are very charitable to all persons whom they think deserving. They frequently give large sums to the public charities of New York. They have acquired great wealth, and it is probable their numbers will increase. The legislature must soon interfere relative to these people; for if a man who is married join this society, he is dead to his wife and family. One Eunice Chapman, on this account, petitioned for a divorce; but I am not certain whether she obtained it.

The Americans are accused of much hypocrisy respecting religion; certainly in the Eastern States, and the state of Ohio, pretended sanctimony, and a constant attendance at church, are considered by many as sufficient to cover a multitude of sins. There are many in the United States who

make a pretence of being religious, but who are guilty of dishonourable and dishonest actions. Are there not, however, many of the same character in England? If the question were put to me, I should undoubtedly answer in the affirmative; but should add, that I conceive, in proportion to the inhabitants, there are considerably more in America; yet even the pretence of being religious is better than making no profession.

In nearly all the states in America, a person may contribute or not for the support of a church or minister, according to his own pleasure. Therefore, when we see as many churches supported there, in proportion to the population, as in England, we must certainly attribute it to a proper motive. In the city of New York, there are not less than seventy churches, where there is only a population of one hundred and twenty thousand. In that city alone, I believe that more than half a million of dollars are annually given, and that voluntarily, for the advancement of religion, or the support of the ministers. We may therefore form some idea of the vast sums which are given throughout the Union.

It is proved by what we behold in America, that religion does not require acts of legislature, or the interposition of government, for its support: "My kingdom is not of this world," says the Founder of Christianity. Instead of establishing ecclesiastical revenues by legal authority, there are actually laws, in some states, (for instance,

New York,) prohibiting churches from having greater funds than a certain stipulated amount. I was informed that it once occurred with the Episcopalian church of that city, that their funds were too great: which coming to the knowledge of Aaron Burr, the ci-devant vice-president, he obtained a large *douceur* for not prosecuting them.

There are no actions in the United States against deistical writers; the press is open, and if any work appears, denying the truth of religion, there are plenty who come forward to shew its fallacy, and the writer of such deistical work gains no credit.

Unless indeed the arguments in favour of Christianity were capable of supporting it, the fabric must fall; but they are sufficient, and this divine religion requires not the aid of judges to maintain it. The ministers of religion are well paid in the United States; in the large towns or cities, many of them receive two, three, and even four thousand dollars per annum.

As marriage in England is considered a religious ceremony, I shall treat of it as such in this place. Marriage, however, in the United States, is considered a civil contract; therefore a justice can marry equally as well as a clergyman. In general a clergyman is employed, and ministers of all denominations have power to marry; unless therefore it be a Catholic or Episcopalian, little ceremony is used. I was one evening at the house of a Baptist clergyman: he was called out

of the room, and was not absent more than three minutes; but in that time he had tied Hymen's indissoluble knot. This facility of marriage is frequently attended with very injurious effects. I have known perfect children married, often to the great grief of their friends. The government sooner or later must interfere, and appoint some officer or minister in each township, without whose license those under age may not be married.

To their funerals they invite, by public advertisement, all the friends and acquaintance of the deceased. The greater the number who are present, the better pleased are the relatives. At some funerals, hundreds will attend. With respect to births, there are no registers, or at least none but private ones. The governments in the United States are very remiss in not enforcing the registry of infants.

## CHAP. XIX.

## PUBLIC CHARACTERS.

THE first public character in the United States, and one of the greatest that ever appeared in the world, was George Washington, whose name is enrolled in the archives of immortality. This gentleman nobly came forward at his country's call, free from all ambitious or avaricious views. He even refused all pecuniary recompense for his services. Having exalted himself upon the feelings and affections of his countrymen, it is thought by many that he might, had he wished it, have been elevated to a throne; but he has obtained for himself honours far more illustrious than the glittering diadem would have conferred; and so long as the sun shall shine, the name of Washington will be emblazoned in the page of history, as a light to cheer the patriot, and as a flaming sword to terrify tyrants.

In the whole public conduct of this great man, there is scarcely any thing to condemn, excepting the execution of Major Andrè, a British officer, who was arrested as a spy within the lines of the American army. Yet there were doubts whether he came under that odious denomination. At all

events, as the United States at that time were not acknowledged as an independent power by Great Britain, if the point were questionable relative to the propriety of executing Major André, mercy ought to have been permitted to turn the balance in the prisoner's favour. Washington was placed in this instance, and many others, in an arduous situation; and perhaps no one would have conducted himself so well as he did, on those trying occasions in which he was frequently compelled to act.

At the conclusion of the war, he retired to Mount Vernon in Virginia, the place of his former abode; having taken, as he thought, a final leave of the fatigues and perplexities connected with public life. In the year 1789, he was, however, again called upon by his country to act as the first president of the United States, with the honours of which he was exultingly invested by a grateful and affectionate people. This distinguished office he continued to hold until 1797, when, resigning his important charge, he was succeeded by John Adams, who is still living. On this resignation he again retired to Mount Vernon, where he continued until his death, which took place on the fourteenth of December, 1799, in the sixty-eighth year of his age, and the twenty-third of American Independence. His birth-day is still commemorated in the United States, as an event worthy of being transmitted to posterity.

During the presidency of John Adams, the

principles of the great founder of the republic, Washington, were the guide or rule of his conduct; and it might properly be considered as a continuation of the first superintendence, as men of acknowledged worth and talent were appointed to fill the public offices or situations. But the term for which the presidents are elected being only four years; before the conclusion of that period, from the time Adams was chosen, the democratic party had obtained the ascendancy throughout the Union; the consequence was, he was displaced, and Thomas Jefferson was chosen to succeed him. This man being the friend and disciple of Thomas Paine, an aversion to Great Britain, and the pursuit of measures to impede that power, formed one peculiar characteristic of his presidency. He was a man better qualified to write theories of government, than to be the high executive officer of a powerful country, being but a bad practical statesman or legislator: for it is a well-known fact, that in his attempts (as he pretended) to prevent the republic being involved in war, the country suffered equally as much as war would have inflicted.

To this presidency succeeded James Madison, an *élève* of the former president, Jefferson, and one who trod in his steps. He was a man whose powers were unequal to the demands of his office, and at present he is of little consideration.

James Munroe, the gentleman who is now honoured with the presidency, succeeded Madison.

He has had the art to profess himself to be of the democratic party, but to follow those measures recommended by the federalists; the latter, therefore, seeing this, have ceased to exist as a body or party. The democrats, however, pretend to deny it, saying the federalists are still a party; but this is chiefly done that they may keep up a clamour against tories and federalists, in order that those men who are recommended by the democratic clubs or associations may be returned to congress, &c. The present vice-president of the United States is Daniel D. Tompkins, a man of but trifling ability or consideration; he owes all his consequence to his being a democratic partisan. During the period when the United States were at war with Great Britain, he was governor of the state of New York. At that time there was in his accounts a deficiency of one hundred thousand dollars, the expenditure of which he never could satisfactorily explain: but his conduct upon the most trifling pretexts was defended by the democratic party; and when they obtained the ascendancy or majority in the legislature of New York, they forgave him the whole of the debt. Aaron Burr once aspired to the presidency, and was near obtaining that honour, when Jefferson was chosen. This gentleman still resides in New York. He was once tried for high treason against the United States, but acquitted. This is a gentleman of great and acknowledged talents; but his character is tainted by many immoral acts. He



killed in a duel General Hamilton, a man highly esteemed and universally respected. This Burr now practises as counsellor at the bar of New York, but his business is trifling.

De Witt Clinton, the present governor of the state of New York, was once also a candidate for the presidency. This gentleman is a scholar, and an enlightened patriot. His recommendations for those great canals in the state of New York, which are noticed in another part of this work, were at first treated as visionary and ridiculous. Fortunately, however, the measure was adopted. This gentleman has been the constant patron or promoter of learning, the fine arts, societies of agriculture, &c. If I were asked whom I considered the greatest or most enlightened character in the United States, I should reply, De Witt Clinton. His having been nominated to the presidency without the consent of the Washington caucus, will not be forgiven by the democrats.

This Washington caucus is a sort of club, composed of democratic men in administration, and some of the leading democratic members of congress. These gentlemen recommend the person whom they wish to become president, to the different democratic clubs throughout the Union; by this means, through which their votes are united, the party have obtained, and still retain, the ascendancy. Mr. Crawford, it is said, is nominated by caucus, as the next president. But De Witt Clinton, notwithstanding he is destitute of this recommendation,

and is much aspersed, pursues his measures, which are directed to the public good, with a steady aim. It would be fortunate for the United States, should he succeed to the presidency.

With respect to those public characters, who are entrusted with the expenditure of the public funds, many of them become public defaulters. There is a sum of upwards of fifteen millions of dollars now due to the government of the United States, for money advanced during the last war with Great Britain, and since that period. In the course of last year, one hundred and twenty thousand dollars were received by the government, on account of these deficiencies; but it is calculated that for the present year, no more than sixty thousand dollars may be expected. An American paper justly observes, "These are sorry gleanings, where so large a debt is due." The citizens certainly think, that "Uncle Sam" (as they term the government) is something like a pond, into which, if he can, every one has a right to dip, and from which he may carry off whatever he is able. As the government, however, becomes more settled, and better regulated, these deficiencies will be of less frequent occurrence. And on the present occasion it is proper to observe, that in the estimation of many, the real amount of the money due to the state will not exceed five millions of dollars; and the reason assigned for the apparently surplus deficiency is, that the vouchers, which would account for the expenditure, are mislaid.

Among the public characters that have appeared in the United States, Doctor Benjamin Franklin holds a distinguished rank. This celebrated man was born at Boston, in the year 1705. He was the youngest of seventeen children, and in early life was "nursed in the bosom of poverty and obscurity." His first wish was to be a sailor, but from this purpose he was diverted by his father; and at the age of twelve he was bound an apprentice to his elder brother, who was a printer. This business excited within him an attachment to books and learning, of which in future years he made such distinguished use. His brother behaved towards him in an austere and tyrannical manner; and principally to this circumstance he attributes his rooted detestation to all species of tyranny. When he was about seventeen years of age, his brother commenced the printing of a public newspaper, to which a number of literary characters contributed, by writing short essays, &c. Franklin says, "I was tempted to try my hand among them; but being still a child, as it were, I was fearful that my brother might be unwilling to print in his paper, any performance of which he should know me to be the author. I therefore contrived to disguise my hand; and having written an anonymous piece, I placed it at night under the door of the printing-house, where it was found the next morning. My brother communicated it to his friends, when they came as usual to see him; who read it, commented upon

it within my hearing, and I had the exquisite pleasure to find that it met with their approbation, and that, in their various conjectures they made respecting the author, no one was mentioned who did not enjoy a high reputation in the country, for talents and genius. Encouraged by this little adventure, I wrote and sent to the press (in the same way) many other pieces, which were equally approved."

About the age of eighteen, young Franklin, having had some violent disputes with his brother, determined to quit Boston, and accordingly embarked for New York. Being unable at the latter city to obtain employment, he determined upon going to Philadelphia, where he arrived with only one dollar in his pocket. Sir William Keith was then governor of the province; to whom mention having been made of Franklin, he very soon noticed him in a particular manner. For nearly two years he worked at Philadelphia as a journeyman printer; the governor then advised him to commence business. At the age of nineteen he returned to Boston, taking letters from the governor to his father, strongly recommending him to advance a sum sufficient to enable young Franklin to commence the printing business at Philadelphia. The father, however, would not comply with the request; and the subject of this sketch returned to Philadelphia, resuming his wonted and humble employment of a journeyman printer. Soon after his return, the governor advised him

to sail to London, to procure press, types, &c.; informing him that he would furnish letters of credit, to enable him to make the requisite purchase. Franklin accordingly agreed for a passage, and repeatedly called upon the governor for the promised letters of credit on London. The vessel at length left the city, proceeding down the river; when the secretary of the governor acquainted Franklin, that the letters would be sent on board: with this promise he was satisfied, and accordingly departed from America. When the letters from the governor were examined, as Franklin himself expresses it, "I could not find a single one with my name written on it, as committed to my care; but I selected six or seven, which I judged from the direction to be those intended for me, particularly one to Mr. B. the king's printer, and another to a stationer, who was the first person I called upon in London. I delivered him the letter as coming from Governor Keith. "I have no acquaintance (said he) with such a person;" and, opening the letter, "Oh, it is from Riddlesden!" he exclaimed. "I have lately discovered him to be an arrant knave, and wish to have nothing to do either with him or his letters." He instantly turned upon his heel, and left me, to serve some of his customers. Franklin soon discovered that the governor had been cajoling him, and determined upon searching for employment in London, which he soon obtained at a printer's of the name of Palmer.

After some time, a person of the name of Denham, returning to America, made proposals and offered to engage him as a clerk. With this gentleman he entered into a compact, and accordingly sailed from Gravesend in July 1726. This Mr. Denham died in a few months afterwards at Philadelphia. Franklin therefore resumed his former work as a journeyman. Soon afterwards, he commenced business in partnership with a Mr. Meredith, a person who frequently became inebriated. During this association, he encountered great difficulties, but by frugality, and his extraordinary industry, he procured many friends. About this time he became a perfect deist; but considering the conduct of those who avowed these mischievous tenets, he fortunately renounced deism, conceiving that the Christian religion was the foundation of all good and moral conduct.

In 1728 he commenced editor of a public newspaper; and owing to the dissolution of co-partnership with Mr. Meredith in 1729, he carried on the business of a printer on his own account, and likewise opened a stationer's shop. Thus circumstanced, he made proposals of marriage to a young lady; but having contracted debts to the amount of one hundred pounds, he demanded that sum of her friends,—which caused them to object to the connection, and to forbid him the house. This conduct he so resented, that he never entered it again; and in the following year

was married to another lady, with whom he lived very happily. In 1732 he commenced the publication of "*Poor Richard's Almanack*," the valuable and concise maxims of which, have been translated into every European language, and they remain as mementos of the soundness and vigour of his understanding.

He entered upon his political career in 1736, being appointed clerk to the general assembly of Pennsylvania, and for several years he was re-appointed by succeeding assemblies.

About the year 1747, light began to dawn upon the science of electricity; but none of the *savans* at that period exceeded Franklin in elucidating this interesting subject. He made a number of singular experiments, and proposed theories to account for various phenomena, which have been universally adopted, and which are likely to endure for ages. These experiments led to the important discovery of a plus and minus, or a positive and negative state of electricity. From this discovery, he explained in a satisfactory manner the phenomena of the Leyden phial, first observed by Professor Muschenbroek, and which had much perplexed philosophers. He first suggested the idea of explaining the nature or cause of thunder gusts, and of the aurora borealis. In the year 1749, he conceived the project of what was then an astonishingly bold idea, that of drawing lightning, or electrical matter, from the clouds. For this purpose he formed a kite of silk, at which

there was an iron point; the string as usual was of hemp, excepting the lower end, which was silk. Where the hempen string terminated, a key was fastened. With this apparatus, on the approach of a thunder gust, he went out into the common, accompanied by his son, placing himself under a shade, to avoid the rain. The kite was then raised, and as a thunder cloud passed over it, he observed the loose fibres of the string to move towards an erect position, he then presented his knuckle to the key, and received a strong spark. Thus was the theory demonstrated, and the name of the projector now ranks high amongst men of science.

Franklin, as a politician, was a determined enemy to oppressive conduct, in every possible form. In the year 1750, there were very warm disputes between the assembly of Pennsylvania and the proprietaries. Franklin soon distinguished himself as an opponent to the proprietaries; and he was considered as the head or leader of the opposition. His influence became very great. This did not arise from his possessing great power as an eloquent speaker, for he never made any elaborate harangue; but by a few concise remarks, he frequently confounded his most eloquent adversaries, and destroyed the effect of the most flowery and oratorical discourses.

The disputes between the proprietaries and the assembly still continuing, it was determined by the latter to petition the king in council, and in



1757, Franklin departed from America, to present the petition, with the title of Agent for the province of Pennsylvania. The dispute was at length adjusted; but he remained at the British court in the capacity of agent; and from the high consideration which was now borne towards him, he received appointments from the provinces of Massachusetts, Maryland, and Georgia. About this period, the University of St. Andrew's, in Scotland, conferred upon him the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws. The Oxford and Edinburgh Universities also honoured him with degrees.

It was Franklin who recommended to the British Government the conquest of Canada, at that time in the possession of the French, who were continually exciting the Indians against the British colonists.

In the summer of 1762, he returned to America. In the year 1764, he was again appointed agent from the provinces of Pennsylvania to the British court; and soon after his arrival in England, he was examined at the bar of the House of Commons, relative to the effect which the stamp act had produced, and was likely to produce, in the colonies. In the year 1766, he visited Holland and Germany, and, the following year, travelled into France. His reception in these different countries was in the highest degree flattering.

In 1767, a petition from the Massachusetts assembly was taken into consideration by the

**British House of Commons.** Franklin was in attendance, as agent for the assembly. It was at this time that Wedderburne, the then solicitor general, lavished upon him the most abusive and unmanly epithets: the petition was declared to be scandalous and vexatious, and the prayer was refused. The ministry of Great Britain, still persevering in their determination to tax the colonists without their consent, Franklin left no means untried to prevent them from rousing the Americans to resistance; but unfortunately all in vain: and in the year 1775 he departed from England, to return to America; this was immediately after the commencement of hostilities. The day after his arrival in America, he was elected, by the legislature of Pennsylvania, a delegate to congress.

In 1776, Franklin was appointed to assist at the negociation with the court of France; and to his address, and the unfortunate issue of Burgoyne's expedition, the treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, which was concluded in 1778, by the king of France, and the *soi-disant* United States, may be chiefly attributed. This alliance mainly contributed to the ultimate success of the colonists in casting off the British yoke.

In 1788, he wholly retired from public life; and in April, 1790, in the eighty-fifth year of his age, expired Benjamin Franklin, LL.D. having attained high eminence and distinction, both as a politician and a man of science; exhibiting to men of succeeding generations, a proof of what may be

attained by the practice of honesty, sobriety, frugality, and industry. Thus a man, born in poverty and obscurity, by cultivating his own talents, obtained opulence and celebrity, without the advantage of education; so that the most eminent scholars, and the most renowned societies, admitted him as an associate. I shall conclude this short sketch, with transcribing the following Epitaph, which he wrote on himself.

E4

**The Body**

of

**BENJAMIN FRANKLIN,**

(Like the cover of an old Book,

Its contents torn out,

And stript of its lettering and gilding)

Lies here, food for Worms;

Yet the work itself shall not be lost,

For it will (as he believed) appear once more,

In a new

And more beautiful Edition,

Corrected and Amended,

By

*The Author.*

## CHAP. XX.

## PRISONS.

It has been already mentioned in the chapter on the Laws, that in the United States, few crimes are punished with the infliction of that awful punishment, death. The man who has committed premeditated murder,—and he who, in the hour of darkness, has set fire to a dwelling, where numbers might consequently have perished,—is a monster, who deserves a punishment that shall render a repetition of the crime impossible. Few offences being punished capitally, and the government of the United States having no colonies to which they transport criminals, nearly all delinquents are punished by imprisonment. In some parts of the United States, all the vices of the old world appear to have been imported, and consequently these districts abound in crime. Some of the prisons are full of prisoners; indeed, in New York, in consequence of so many being convicted, the magistrates are obliged to extend pardon to criminals who are totally unworthy of it, in order to make room for other villains more recently convicted, and of more abandoned characters. In the state prison, near the city of New

York, there are generally about six hundred prisoners; in the penitentiary, about three hundred and fifty; in the bridewell of that city, nearly one hundred and fifty; and in the prison at Auburn, in the same state, about one hundred and fifty more. In the state of New York, there are frequently about one hundred and twenty prisoners, for counterfeiting or uttering forged bank-notes; and about five hundred and fifty more, for grand larceny. The Americans say that many of their criminals are foreigners: but nearly all for forgery are natives; and of the other prisoners, foreigners only furnish a small proportion.

The state prison near the city of New York is well regulated. Excepting those in solitary confinement, all the prisoners are obliged to work. Some are employed as tailors, shoe-makers, brush-makers, cabinet makers, joiners, blacksmiths, &c.; a great many are employed in weaving. Nearly all the prisons throughout the country are similar to extensive workshops or manufactories; and the prisoners occasion no great expense to the state, for by their work they nearly pay the whole charge of the establishment. If the prisoners will not work, they are punished by dark and solitary confinement. Formerly, the gaoler at New York was restricted from using corporeal punishment, but latterly he has been furnished with a discretionary power. The food given to the prisoners is very good in quality; and in case of sickness, they have the best medical attend-

ance. But from the number of prisoners in this gaol, the managers are obliged sometimes to put sixteen to sleep in a room no larger than about five yards in length by four in width. All female prisoners are kept strictly separate from the men.

The state prison at Philadelphia is even better regulated than the one at New York. Inspectors are appointed, who are annually chosen from amongst the citizens, and these act gratuitously and voluntarily. From their report, and that of the gaoler, with the consent of the judge, the treatment of any particular prisoner is regulated. If he prove refractory, he is punished by solitary confinement, of which there are different sorts, viz. without light,—with light,—and the milder species of solitary confinement is, to allow the prisoner to work.

If a prisoner, by his orderly and regular conduct, should obtain the approbation of the inspectors and gaolers, he is recommended to the governor as a proper object for pardon, and such persons are generally released. In many instances, persons have been reformed in these prisons; and, having learned some serviceable mechanic art, after they have left the prison, have become useful members of society. In others, however, the mild punishments in the United States are not found to be efficacious in preventing crimes. The governor of the state of New York has recommended that a new prison should be erected,

and that it should consist of small apartments, so that only one person might sleep in a room. This measure would certainly be attended with beneficial effects. The prisoner, when *alone* at night upon a hard couch, could not forbear reflecting upon his dire situation; that between himself and society there were bars, which he was not allowed to unloose; that in the day-time his associates were abandoned villains, and at night he had nothing but his disagreeable couch, and his still more disagreeable conscience, for his company;—reflections like these would probably produce salutary effects.

When a number of prisoners are together, they recount to each other the tricks and stratagems they have used to defraud the credulous and unwary. Many of these are laughable or comic incidents, and as such, they furnish cause for merriment. They inform each other likewise in what way they might have escaped detection, and they devise new plans or modes to carry on their guilty practices when they are again let loose on society. Thus the hardened villain instructs the juvenile offender, and confirms him in depravity. In the United States, it has been found that some prisons are “schools of turpitude, in which profligacy is inculcated in its most odious forms, and in all its terrible enormities.” In that country, as well as in England, numbers who have been in prison, on being liberated, are at large but a short period, before they are again convicted, and

again incarcerated. For the honour of human nature, however, we certainly must hope, that the mild punishments of the United States may succeed. In their prisons, we see none of those wretched, filthy, and squalid objects, which are continually to be met with in some of the prisons of Europe; and from which those of Ireland, as I have been informed, are unhappily not exempt. In England, the hangman is in daily requisition; but in the United States, he is seldom employed. The blood of those who perish on the scaffold in Great Britain, would form a current through the land. And even yet, what are many of those prisons? They can be termed nothing better than sepulchres; the worst of sepulchres, where every good and virtuous feeling becomes rotten, tainted, and corrupted, and where nothing retains vitality, but the worst of human passions.

But what hopes soever we may entertain respecting the mild treatment of criminals, and however gratifying it may seem to humanity, it cannot be denied, that lenity towards culprits in the United States, has not been found efficacious in the prevention of crime. The commitments in that country are nearly proportionate with those of Great Britain; especially, when we take into consideration, that they have no game laws, the violation of which, in many counties of England, constitute nearly one-fourth of the offences for which offenders are committed.

In the United States, it is not difficult to ob-



tain an honest livelihood; and when it is observed that so many crimes are committed, it would naturally lead to a conclusion that something must be defective in their mode of punishment. Through the lenity of the treatment in the United States, a part of their earnings is given to the prisoners; therefore there is very little punishment, or privation. Hence some of them declare, that they are more comfortable in the prison than they were before they entered. Thus many, when they leave the jail, are heedless whether they are again committed or not; they also inform their companions, that there is nothing to be much dreaded in imprisonment.

In the United States, sooner or later, it is to be feared that they must alter their mode of conducting prisons. Governor Clinton has recommended that a jail should be erected for the state of New York, in which every prisoner might have a room or cell to sleep alone; and if some of the greatest criminals were to work and eat alone, it would be as well; but more than two or three should not be allowed to work together.

On one occasion I visited the state prison near the city of New York, accompanied by a gentleman belonging to its medical department. We were not attended by any of the gaolers, we therefore ranged through the different wards at our leisure. The prisoners, who were but little restrained by our presence, passed off their jokes with one another. In the female department, the women were em-

ployed at the washing-tub; and one of them was amusing the rest by obscene conversation. Certainly these prisoners were better clothed and provided for than many poor families who earn an honest livelihood. It cannot be expected that much dread of a prison will be excited, or that much reformation of conduct will take place in the morals of the prisoners who are thus treated. I do not wish to recommend such usage as prisoners meet with in several countries, where despotism has established its unfeeling reign; where men, some of whom have committed the unpardonable crime of expressing an opinion that their rulers do not act right, are consigned to dungeons, to move and writhe in filth like worms, and indeed where nearly all sorts of prisoners are considered as not worthy the solicitude which is paid to dogs or hogs, and where they are fed upon offal that the carrion crow would almost disdain.

It seems more consonant with the dictates of humanity, to retain the mild punishments and comforts in the prisons of the United States, although they may not work a reformation in the criminal, than to let human beings languish in such horrid gaols or pest-houses as are found in some countries.

With respect to the treatment and punishment of prisoners, much judgment and discrimination is undoubtedly required. Nor is it proper in all countries to punish the same crime in an equally

rigorous manner. Indeed, we must bear in mind, that what in one age and country has been considered criminal, and consequently deserving of punishment, is not judged to be so in another: thus, in Persia, at one time, ingratitude was thought deserving of a severe infliction: in England, sending a challenge, or duelling, is contrary to law; and if death be the consequence of a duel, the survivor is considered guilty of murder: whilst in the island of Malta, duelling is legal. Thus we see the versatility of opinions; for while by the laws of one country a person would forfeit his life; in another, at the same time, he would not be considered as guilty of any offence. With the exception of one or two crimes, there will be a difference of opinion as to what punishment ought to be inflicted.

It is melancholy to observe, that in Great Britain and the United States, where prisons are better conducted, and prisoners treated with more tenderness than in any other part of the world, the commitments gradually increase; and we are led to the opinion, disagreeable as it is, that criminals cannot be reclaimed, nor others deterred from giving way to a vicious propensity, excepting by a severity of punishment which humanity deprecates as improper.

## CHAP. XXI.

SCENERY, MOUNTAINS, CASCADES,  
MINERALS, &c.

Of all the scenery in North America, there is none so grand or imposing as that of the Falls of Niagara. This phenomenon, however, has been so often described, that I consider it useless to particularize it in this work. The falls of Niagara are one hundred and thirty feet perpendicular, whilst those of Jackson's river in Virginia are two hundred: but the latter is a small stream in comparison to the river Niagara, not being more than twelve or fifteen feet wide above the fall. The falls of the Passaic, in New Jersey, although not to be compared to those of Niagara or Jackson, present also an object of astonishment. The river Passaic, above the falls, runs in a straight course about seventy feet wide; and in some remote ages, there is every appearance that beyond the falls it continued its straight course. Some great convulsion of nature must, however, have taken place, as the rock, which is to appearance almost as hard as iron-stone, has been burst or rent asunder in eight or ten places; this having caused the water

to make a complete turn, or acute angle, is the cause of the present falls.

The height of the rock over which the water falls, is about seventy feet perpendicular. When we stand on the border of the basin into which it descends, we are nearly encircled by rocks, some of which are from ninety to one hundred feet high. In some places this rock has evidently been of four different formations. The second formation, which is from sixty to seventy feet from the base, presents a curious appearance; it is encrusted with volcanic matter. The stone or rock appears as if it had formerly been in a state of fusion, and as if the fused matter had run on the then surface, and covered it for three or four inches thick. There is no doubt, from every appearance, that part of this rock has been exposed to a high degree of heat. It would lead one almost to suppose, that the earth had, at some remote period, borne a different relative situation to the sun from what it now exhibits, and that a great part which is at present solid, was at some former period, from the effect of great heat, in a state of fluidity; but that the earth coming into its present situation, became concreted, imbedding those numberless organic remains which are in every country discovered, and more especially in America.

A lamentable circumstance, a few years since, occurred at this place. Mr. Cummins, a very popular preacher, accompanied by his wife, was

viewing the falls; they had been married a fortnight. Mrs. Cummins was looking over the rock, which was about ninety feet high, when she became dizzy, and fell into the basin below: unfortunately her clothes caught in some sunken timber, and she rose no more. The body was not found until the lapse of an hour, but the vital spark had fled.

In Virginia, between York and James' river, the earth appears to have been of four different formations. The land upon the surface is very level, and about forty feet of a perpendicular height above high-water mark. Near York-town the banks are perpendicular, and here the different formations can be distinctly traced. The first or lowest stratum is a mixture of clay, sand, and small shells; this stratum is about five feet thick; on this lies, horizontally, a layer of small white shells, such as cockle, clam, &c. about two inches thick. The next formation is earth similar to the first mentioned, eighteen inches in depth; then a layer of shells. Afterwards another body of earth, which is covered with white shells, near three feet thick, and on this lies a body of oyster shells six feet thick: these are covered with earth to the surface.

Having been informed that about four miles distant from the falls of the Passaic, and higher up the river, there were the remains of several basaltic columns, in places where nature had evidently created them; a Mr. Kinsey, of Paterson, a

gentleman of acknowledged taste and learning as a mineralogist, and one of the members of congress for the state of New Jersey, proposed to accompany me to view these objects of curiosity. We accordingly went thither, and found, at about one hundred yards from the river, eighteen or twenty of these basaltic columns, measuring between four and five feet in circumference, of a pentagonal form. The materials are similar to those of which the Giant's Causeway in Ireland is composed. Of some of these columns the summits are eight or nine feet from the ground; but they have evidently been much higher than they are at present, for several broken and detached pieces are lying scattered near the base of such as display even the greatest elevation. I have no doubt that these columns have been fifteen or twenty feet in height from the ground. About a mile beyond these columns, are the little falls of the Passaic, a place where the scenery is beautiful.

Nearly throughout the Atlantic states, the Alleghany mountains rear their elevated heads. This vast chain commences in the states of New York and New Jersey, and pursues a south-west course until the ridge is lost in West Florida. These mountains are from ninety to one hundred and fifty miles from the Atlantic ocean, and are supposed by some to be a continuation of the Andes. It is not supposed that the highest part of these mountains will exceed four thousand feet of per-

pendicular height; but they furnish many points from whence the scenery is bold, grand, and extensive. "The passage of the Potomac through the Blue Ridge of mountains, is one of the most stupendous scenes of nature: standing on the mountain, on the right comes the Shenandrah, which has been seeking a vent for one hundred miles; on the left is the Potomac. At their junction they rush together, and pass off to the sea." The natural bridge in Virginia is also an object of wonder. The arch approaches to the form of a semi-ellipsis; its breadth in the middle is sixty feet, and the length ninety feet. This natural arch is thrown over a chasm two hundred feet deep; and the fissure, over which it stretches, is forty-five feet wide at the bottom. The highest mountain in the United States is the White mountain, in New Hampshire, the height of which is about six thousand feet. With respect to scenery, the harbour of New York presents as beautiful a prospect as that of any harbour in the known world: the Narrows, at the distance of eight miles, which are the outlet to the sea, and only about one mile and a half in width, Staten Island, Long Island, Governor's Island, the Jersey shore, and some other small islands in the capacious bay, render the *tout ensemble* extremely beautiful. The scenery likewise of Boston harbour, with its forty islands, is little inferior to New York.

The prospects from the Catskill mountains, on the Hudson or North river, is well entitled to the



appellation of bold and magnificent. The appearance of the whole country in autumn may be said to be enchanting. The walnut-tree then assumes a bright yellow; the maple, a scarlet; many others take a deep copper colour: the scenery of the forests at this time, with their rich and golden tints, cannot be properly or adequately described. In the month of February, 1820, I was witness to a curious circumstance. It was this: during the night it had rained, the water had become congealed, the surface of the earth was covered with ice above an inch thick, and the trees were so completely loaded, that when I was travelling on the road to New Jersey the following morning, I found that large branches had been broken off, and fine trees, which had withstood many a blast, were torn up by the roots through the excessive weight: the noise in the woods, from the branches which were then falling off, was extremely loud. The scenery was such as we might expect to view in Greenland,—all inanimate nature was clothed with ice.

The United States abound with metal: silver, cobalt, copper, zinc, iron, lead, &c. In all the North Eastern, in all the Middle, and in all the Western States, there are metals of different sorts. Previously to the revolution, several mines had been opened and worked. There was a silver mine at Surg-Sing, about forty miles up the North river from New York, of which it is said to be the intention of some persons to resume the

working. This mine, it is highly probable, was the property of some English persons, who left America at the time of the revolution, and never returned; but its value may amply reward either them or their descendants for making an inquiry. About the same period, several copper mines were abandoned. A cobalt mine in Connecticut was also discontinued at the time of the revolution. To resume the working, a company has lately been formed; and it is said, that the speculation is now become productive. Large quantities of iron ore are obtained in the Eastern States. In New Jersey, about ten miles from Paterson, there is a small mountain of nearly pure zinc. In the Western States, several iron and lead mines are successfully worked. A large quantity of lead is brought down the Mississippi, from St. Louis and the neighbourhood. There is also, in several of the states, abundance of lime-stone, and coal. In Pennsylvania and Virginia, excellent coals are obtained. In some parts of the Western states, (for instance, at Pittsburg,) there are hills of it; and it is procured at a trifling cost. Throughout all the Western Country, there is little doubt but that coal abounds. In this part of the United States, there are also many salt springs and nitre caves. Some of the former are called Salt Licks, in consequence of animals having in times past resorted thither, and licked the saline soil. In some places they have by this means excavated the soil ten or twelve feet. From this circum-

stance we may form an idea of the length of time during which animals remained undisturbed in this country.

Marble is plentiful, especially in Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Virginia, &c. In Philadelphia, marble is as cheap as common stone. There is no doubt that at some future period precious stones will be discovered. Crystal is very common; I have found several beautiful agates amongst the trap rock, which were undergoing a state of decomposition. From these circumstances, I conceive it not improbable, that at some future period, the United States will be found so to abound with the precious metals and precious stones, as to rival the long celebrated mines of Mexico and Peru.

## CHAP. XXII.

## ANTIQUITIES.

ALTHOUGH the United States of America is a country of so recent discovery by the Europeans, yet there are evident marks that at some remote period, there has been not only a great, but a civilized population. Du Pratz mentions, that in the Illinois, about the year 1710, when the French were digging the foundation for a mill, they there found (several feet below the surface) a number of orbicular stones, about two inches in diameter, of the shape of a pointed cap with six sides; the grooves were set with buttons of the size of a small pin's head.

De Witt Clinton, in a memoir which he read before the Literary and Philosophical Society of New York, describes some of the antiquities in the western part of that state. He thus proceeds, "Having had some opportunities for personal observation, and not a few for inquiry, I am induced to believe, that the western parts of the United States were, prior to their discovery and occupation by Europeans, inhabited by numerous nations in a settled state, and much further advanced in civilization than the present tribes of Indians.

About two miles south from Manlius-square, in the town of Pompey, I examined the remains of a large town, which was obviously indicated by large spots of black mould in regular intervals of a few paces distance, in which I observed bones of animals, ashes, carbonized beans or grains of Indian corn, denoting the residence of human beings. This town must have extended at least half a mile from east to west, and three quarters of a mile from north to south. This extent I could determine with considerable accuracy from my own view; but I was assured by a gentleman of veracity, that its length from east to west was one mile. A town covering upwards of five hundred acres, must have contained a population, greatly transcending all our ideas of credibility. There are three old forts, distant about eight miles from each other, and forming a triangle which encloses the town; one, a mile south from the present village of Jamesville, and the other north-east and south-east in Pompey; they were in all probability erected to cover the town, and to protect the inhabitants against the attacks of an enemy. Near the remains of this town, I observed a large forest, which was in former times cleared and under cultivation. I drew this inference from the following circumstances: There were no hillocks or small mounds, which are always the result of uprooted trees; no uprooted or decaying trees or stumps, no underwood; and the trees were generally fifty or sixty years old, Many, very many

years must elapse before a cultivated country is covered with wood. The seeds must be slowly conveyed by winds and birds. The township of Pompey abounds with forests of a similar character, some of four miles long and two wide, and it contains a great number of ancient places of interment: I have heard them estimated at eighty. If the present white population of that country were entirely swept away, perhaps in the revolution of ages similar appearances to those we have now been describing, would be exhibited.

"There is a piece of land (at Oxford) containing between two and three acres, which is about thirty feet higher than the adjoining flat around it. This rise of land lies along the river bank about forty rods, and at the south-westerly end this fort was situated. It contained about three roods of ground, and on the river the line was nearly straight, and the bank almost perpendicular. The figure nearly like this.



"At the places north and south, marked for gates, there were two spaces of about ten feet each, where the ground has not been broken, which were undoubtedly the entrances or gateways by which the people of the fort went out and in, and

particularly for water. The curve, except the gateways, was a ditch regularly dry; and although the ground, on which the fort is situated, was, at the first white settlement, as heavily timbered as any other part of the forest, yet the lines of the work could be distinctly traced among the trees, and the distance from the bottom of the ditch to the top of the embankment, generally about four feet.

"The antiquity of this fortification is more particularly evident from the following fact. There was one large pine tree, or rather dead trunk, fifty or sixty feet high, which being cut, one hundred and ninety-five circles of the wood could easily be distinguished; and many more could not be counted, as the sap-wood of the tree was principally gone. Probably this tree was three or four hundred years old; certainly more than two hundred. It might have stood one hundred years after it had completed its growth, and even longer. It is also uncertain how long a time elapsed from the excavation of the ditch, to the commencement of the growth of this tree. That it was not there when the earth was thrown up, is certain; for it stood on the top of the bank, and its roots had shaped themselves to the ditch, running quite under the bottom of it, then rising on the other side near the surface of the earth, and then pursuing a horizontal direction.

"On the south side of Lake Erie, there is a series of old fortifications, running from the Catteragus

creak, to the Pennsylvania line, a distance of fifty miles; some are two, three, and four miles apart, and some within half a mile. Some contain five acres. The walls or breast-works are of earth, and they are generally on ground where there are appearances of creeks having once emptied into the lakes, or where there was once a bay; so that it is inferred, these works were once on the margin of Lake Erie, which has now retreated from two to five miles northerly. Still further south, there is said to be another chain of forts, running parallel with the former, and about the same distance from them as those are from the lake. The country here exhibits two different tables or sections of bottom, intervale, or alluvial land; the one nearest the lake being the lower, and, if I may so denominate it, the secondary table land.

“The primary or more elevated table land, is bounded on the south by hills and valleys, where nature exhibits her usual aspects. The primary or alluvial land was formed from the first retreat or recession of the lake, and then, it is supposed, the most southern line of fortifications was erected. In process of time, the lake receded further to the north, leaving another section of table land, on which the other tier of works was made. The soil on the two flats is very different, the inferior being adapted for grass, and the superior for grain, and the timber varies in a correspondent manner. On the south side of Lake Ontario



there are also two alluvial formations; the most recent is north of the ridge road, but no forts have been discovered on it. Whether there be any on the primary or table land, I have not learned; south of the mountain ridge, many have been observed.

“In the geology of our country, it is important to remark, that the two alluvial formations before mentioned, are, generally speaking, characteristic of all the lands bordering on the western waters; while, on the eastern waters, there is but one alluvial tract, with some few exceptions. This may be ascribed to the distance of the St. Lawrence and Mississippi from the ocean; their having prostrated at two different periods, impediments or barriers, and in consequence of thus lowering the beds in which they flowed, having produced a partial exhaustion of the remote waters. These distinct formations may be considered as great chronological landmarks.

“The non-existence of forts on the secondary or primary alluvial formations of Lake Ontario, is a strong circumstance from which the remote antiquity of those on the highlands to the south may be deduced; because, if they had been erected after the first or last retreat of the lake, they would undoubtedly have been made on them as most convenient, and best adapted for all military, civil, and domestic purposes.”

Mr. Clinton concludes his memoir, by saying, “I am persuaded, that enough has been said to

demonstrate the existence of a vast population, settled in towns, defended by forts, cultivating agriculture, and more advanced in civilization than the natives which have inhabited the same countries since the European discovery."

Throughout all the Western States, there were many vestiges of ancient fortifications. Near to Piqua, in the state of Ohio, there are some of these remains. Several of the ancient forts are of great extent, and some so small that they do not enclose half an acre. The entrances seem to have been north and south. The excavations appear to have been made from the inside. The embankments, which remain to this day, are five, six, and seven feet above the surface of the adjoining ground. They must have required great labour and skill in the formation; for the stone used in some of them has been brought from a distance of about half a mile. The trees on all these forts are as large as those in the surrounding country.

Near the mouth of Hole's Creek, on a plain, are the remains of ancient works of considerable extent. One of the embankments appears to have enclosed an area of about one hundred and eighty acres, and to this day in some parts it is twenty feet high. Near Cincinnati, there are numerous remains of fortifications; stone coffins, rude sculptural representations on stone, and many more antique remains, are continually discovered. At some remote period, it would appear, there has

existed a dense and civilized population in the United States.

In the nitrous caves, human bodies have been found equally as well preserved as the mummies of Egypt. Some of these I have seen. The appearance of these would bespeak a people totally different from the present race of Indians. Indeed, the Indians are a race of people who can shew no monuments of antiquity. Despising labour, they can shew no work of skill; and respecting these remains of antiquity they know nothing. It is almost evident, that those who once occupied these fortified places have been engaged in destructive warfare, and by that means have become extinct.

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#### MAMMOTH CAVE IN KENTUCKY.

Among the various monuments of antiquity discovered in America, there is not one which appears more astonishing, than that, which, has been emphatically denominated, "The Wonderful Mammoth Cave in Kentucky."

An account of this wonderful cave has appeared under the sanction of the American Antiquarian Society, incorporated by an act of the legislature of Massachusetts, so that no doubt can be entertained of the facts which this volume records.

From a train of circumstances connected with this cave, it appears that it was formerly inha-

bited, fire-beds having been found in almost every avenue from one end to the other. These appear to have been built of limestone, and the fires were made of cane. But at what period these gloomy retreats were the abode of human beings, it is in vain to conjecture; and we have no means of deciding whether these caverns were an occasional residence for some Indian tribe in moments of danger, or were peopled by a race of beings that are now extinct. From the appearance of the mummy, which will hereafter be described, nothing can be found to furnish the least indication of any connection with Europe. Our views are therefore carried back prior to the days of Columbus; and perhaps we shall commit no outrage either on truth or probability, if we continue our retrogression for two thousand years.

The first discovery of this cave, which was purely accidental, happened about ten years since. The surrounding country in which it is situated, is much broken into ravines and pits, apparently through some violent convulsion of nature; and it is at the bottom of one of these ravines, that the entrance into this wonder of the western world was observed. The curiosity which this discovery excited, induced Mr. Nahum Ward, a citizen of Shrewsbury, Massachusetts, to explore its recesses, and it is from his pen, that the following explanation of the engraving, and the subsequent account have been taken.

## EXPLANATION.

A—Mouth of the cave, forty feet high, and thirty wide.

BB—Hoppers, where saltpetre is made by Wilkins and Gratz, the owners of the cave. Oxen are worked two miles in.

C—Pits one hundred and seventy-five feet deep in many places in this chamber.

D—This area contains upwards of eight acres, covered with one arch, at least one hundred and fifty feet high in the centre, called the *Chief City*.

E—*Second City*, contains about six acres; the walls around at least sixty feet perpendicular height: one arch.

F—*Fourth City*. This chamber, with the avenue leading to it, was never explored until I entered it. I went to the end.

G—This is called the *Fifth City*.

H—The bed of this chamber, which is one thousand eight hundred feet in circumference, is forty feet above the level of the passage leading to it. You go up a passage like that of a chimney, for forty feet perpendicular height.

I—At this place I found a cedar pole, twelve feet long, and which was perfectly sound.

O—I went no farther than this; how much farther I might have gone I know not.

L—*Third City*.—From the side of the cave issued a fine stream of water, which falls sixty feet.

RRR—Green River passes over three branches of the cave.

S—A long body of yellow ochre found here.

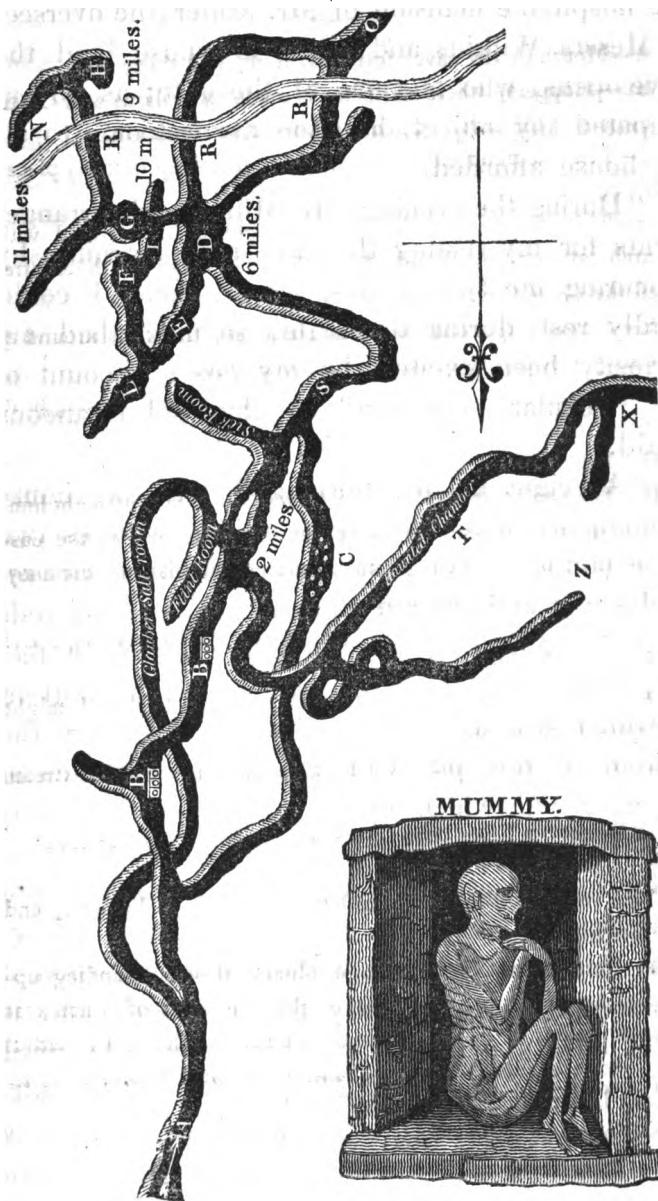
T—A very beautiful dome, at least forty feet in diameter, and sixty feet high.

X—Here are six or eight large columns of spar, standing upwards of sixty feet perpendicular height, the bases of which rest in elegant basins of water, as clear as amber. This is a beautiful sight. Soda is found in great quantities in and by these columns of spar. I called the pool *Chlorius*.

Z—Found no end.

N—Ditto Ditto.

# THE MAMMOTH CAVE.



MUMMY.

"It was seven in the evening when I reached the hospitable mansion of Mr. Miller (the overseer of Messrs. Wilkins and Gratz, in whose land the cave opens) who met me at the gate; as he anticipated my object, he bade me welcome to all his house afforded.

"During the evening, Mr. Miller made arrangements for my visiting the cave next morning; by procuring me two guides, lamps, &c. I could hardly rest during the night, so much had my curiosity been excited by my host's account of the "regular confusion" in this subterraneous world.

"At eight in the morning I left the house in company with the guides, taking with us two large lamps, a compass, and something for refreshment; and entered the cave, about sixty rods from the house, down through a pit forty feet deep and thirty in circumference, at the bottom of which is a fine spring of water. When at the bottom of this pit, you are at the entrance of the cave, (A) which opens to the north, and is from forty to fifty feet high, and about thirty in width for upwards of forty rods, when it is not more than ten feet wide and five feet high. However, this continues but a short distance, when it expands to forty or fifty feet in width, and is about twenty in height for about one mile, until you come to the *First Hoppers* (B) where salt-petre is manufactured. Thence, it is about forty feet in width and sixty in height to the *Second*

*Hoppers* (B) two miles from the entrance. The loose limestone has been laid up into handsome walls on either side, almost the whole distance from the entrance to the *Second Hoppers*: the road is hard, and as smooth as a flag pavement. The walls of the cavern are perpendicular in every passage that I traversed: the arches are regular in every part, and have bid defiance even to earthquakes. One of my guides informed me he was at the *Second Hoppers* in 1612, with several workmen, when those heavy shocks came on, which were so severely felt in this country. He said, that about five minutes before the shock, a heavy rumbling noise was heard coming out of the cave like a mighty wind; when that ceased, the rocks cracked, and all appeared to be going in a moment to final destruction. However, no one was injured, although large rocks fell in some parts of the cave.

"As you advance into the cave, the avenue leads from the *Second Hoppers*, west one mile, then S. W. to the *Chief City*, (D) which is six miles from the entrance. This avenue is from sixty to one hundred feet in height, and about the same in width, the whole distance after you leave the *Second Hoppers*, until you come to the cross roads or *Chief City*, and is nearly upon a level; the floor, or bottom, being covered with loose limestones and saltpetre-earth. When I reached this immense area (*Chief City*) which contains upwards of eight acres, without a single



pillar to support the arch, which is entire over the whole, I was struck dumb with astonishment.

"I can give you but a faint idea of this *Chief City*. Nothing under heaven can be more sublimely grand than this place, covered with a solid arch at least one hundred feet high, and to all appearance entire.

"After entering the *Chief City*, I perceived five large avenues leading out of it, from sixty to one hundred feet in width, and from forty to eighty in height. The walls (all of stone) are arched, and are from forty to eighty feet perpendicular height before the arch commences.

"The first which I traversed, after cutting arrows on the stones under our feet, pointing to the mouth of the cave (in fact, we did this at the entrance of every avenue, that we should not be at a loss for the way out, in our return) was one that led us in a southerly direction for more than two miles. We then left it, and took another that led us east, and then north, for more than two miles further; and at last, in our windings, were brought out by another avenue into the *Chief City* again, after traversing different avenues for more than five miles.

"We rested ourselves for a few minutes on some limestone slabs near the centre of this gloomy area; and, having taken some refreshment and trimmed our lamps, took our departure a second time through an avenue almost north, and parallel with the avenue leading from the *Chief*

*City* to the mouth of the cave, which we continued for upwards of two miles, when we entered the *Second City*. (E) This is covered with one arch, nearly two hundred feet high in the centre, and very similar to the *First City*, except in the number of avenues leading from it; this having but two. We passed through it, over a very considerable rise in the centre, and descended through an avenue which bore to the east about three hundred rods, when we came upon a third area (L) about two hundred feet square and fifty in height, which had a pure and delightful stream of water issuing from the side of the wall about sixty feet high, and which fell upon some broken stones, and was afterwards entirely lost to our view. After passing this beautiful sheet of water a few yards, we came to the end of this passage.

“We then returned about one hundred yards, and entered a small opening (over a considerable mass of stone) to our left, which carried us south, through an uncommonly black avenue, something more than a mile, when we ascended a very steep hill, about sixty yards, which carried us within the walls of the *Fourth City*, (F) which is not inferior to the second, having an arch that covers at least six acres. In this last avenue, the farther end of which must be four miles from the *Chief City*, and ten from the mouth of the cave, are upwards of twenty large piles of saltpetre-earth on one side of the avenue, and broken limestone heaped up on the other, evidently the work of human hands.

"I had expected from the course of my needle, that this avenue would have carried us round to the *Chief City*, but was sadly disappointed when I found the end, a few hundred yards from the *Fourth City*, which caused us to retrace our steps; and not having been so particular in marking the entrances of the different avenues as I ought, we were very much bewildered, and once completely lost for fifteen or twenty minutes. At length, we found our way, and, weary and faint, entered the *Chief City* at ten at night. However, as much fatigued as I was, I determined to explore the cave as long as my lights held out.

"We now entered the fifth and last avenue from the *Chief City*, which carried us south-east about nine hundred yards, when we entered the *Fifth City*, (G) whose arch covers upwards of four acres of level ground strewn with broken limestone. Fire-beds of uncommon size, with brands of cane lying around them, are interspersed throughout this city.

"We crossed over to the opposite side, and entered an avenue that carried us east about two hundred and fifty rods: finding nothing interesting in this passage, we turned back, and crossed a massy pile of stone in the mouth of a large avenue, which I noticed but a few yards from this last mentioned city, as we came out of it. After some difficulty in passing over this mass of limestone, we entered a large avenue, whose walls were the most perfect of any I saw, running

almost due south for five hundred rods, very level and straight, with an elegant arch. When at the end of this avenue, and while I was sketching a plan of this cave, one of my guides, who had been some time groping among the broken stone, called out, requesting me to follow him.

"I gathered up my papers and compass; and after giving my guide, who sat with me, orders to remain where he was until we returned, and, moreover, to keep his lamp in good order, I followed after the first, who had entered a vertical passage just large enough to admit his body, we continued stepping from one stone to another, until at last, after much difficulty from the smallness of the passage, which is about ten feet in height, we entered on the side of a chamber at least one hundred and eighty feet in circumference, and whose arch is about one hundred and fifty feet high in the centre. After having marked arrows pointing downwards upon the slab-stones around the little passage through which we had ascended, we walked forward nearly to the centre of this area.

"It was past midnight when I entered this chamber of eternal darkness, 'where all things are hushed, and Nature's self lies dead,' I must acknowledge I felt a shivering horror at my situation, when I looked back upon the different avenues through which I had passed since I entered the cave at eight in the morning; and at that time of night, when church-yards yawn, to be

buried several miles in the dark recesses of this awful cavern—the grave, perhaps, of thousands of human beings—gave me no very pleasing sensations. With the guide who was now with me, I took the only avenue leading from this chamber, and traversed it to the distance of a mile in a southern direction, when my lamps forbade me going further, as they were nearly exhausted. The avenue, or passage, was as large as any that we had entered: and how far we might have travelled, had our lights held out, it is unknown.—It is supposed that *Green River*, a stream navigable for boats several hundred miles, passes over three branches of this cave. (R R R)

“It was nearly one o’clock when we descended ‘the passage of the chimney,’ as it is called, to the guide whom I had left seated on the rocks. He was quite alarmed at our long absence, and was heard by us a long time before we reached the passage to descend to him, hallooing with all his might, fearing we had lost our track in the ruins above.

“Very near the vertical passage, and not far from where I left my guide sitting, I found some very beautiful specimens of soda, which I brought out with me.

“We returned over piles of saltpetre-earth and fire-beds, out of one avenue into another, until at last, with great fatigue and a dim light, we entered the walls of the *Chief City*, where, for the last time, we trimmed our lamps, and en-

tered the spacious avenue that carried us to the *Second Hoppers*.

"I found, when in the last-mentioned large avenue, or upper chamber, many curiosities, such as Glauber salts, Epsom salts, flint, yellow ochre, spar of different kinds, and some petrifications, which I brought out, together with the *Mummy*, which was found at the *Second Hoppers*, (B) We happily arrived at the mouth of the cave about three in the morning, nearly exhausted and worn down with nineteen hours' continued fatigue.

"I was near fainting on leaving the cave and inhaling the vapid air of the atmosphere, after having so long breathed the pure air which is occasioned by the nitre of the cave. The pulse beat stronger when in the cave, but not so fast as when upon the surface.

"I have described to you hardly one half of the cave, as the avenues between the mouth of the cave and the *Second Hoppers* have not been named. There is a passage in the main avenue, about sixty rods from the entrance, like that of a trap-door: by sliding aside a large flat stone, you can descend sixteen or eighteen feet, in a very narrow defile, where the passage comes upon a level, and winds about in such a manner as to pass under the main passage without having any communication with it, and at last opens into the main cave by two large passages just beyond the *Second Hoppers*. It is called *Glauber Salt-room*, from salts of that kind being found there;

there is also the *Sick Room*, the *Bat Room*, and the *Flint Room*, all of which are large, and some of them quite long. The last I shall mention is a very winding avenue, which branches off at the *Second Hoppers*, and runs west and south-west for more than two miles: this is called the *Haunted Chamber*, from the echo of the sound made in it. The arch of this avenue is very beautiful, encrusted with limestone, spar, and in many places the columns of spar are truly elegant, extending from the ceiling to the floor. I discovered in this avenue a very high dome (T) in or near the centre of the arch, apparently fifty feet high, hung in rich drapery, festooned in the most fanciful and romantic manner for six or eight feet from the hangings, and in colours the most rich and brilliant.

"The columns of spar and the stalactites in this chamber are extremely romantic in their appearance, with the reflection of one or two lights. There is a chair formed of this spar, called *Wain's Arm-chair*, which is very large, and stands in the centre of the avenue, and is encircled with many smaller ones. Columns of spar fluted, and studded with knobs of spar and stalactites, drapery of various colours superbly festooned, and hung in the most graceful manner, are shown with the greatest brilliancy from the reflection of lamps.

"A part of the *Haunted Chamber* is directly over the *Bat Room*, which passes under the

*Haunted Chamber*, without having any connection with it. My guide led me into a very narrow defile on the left side of this chamber, and about one hundred yards from *Wilkin's Arm-chair*, over the side of a smooth limestone-rock, ten or twelve feet, which we passed with much precaution; for, had we slipped from our hold, we had gone 'to that bourne from whence no traveller returns,' if I may judge from a cataract of water, whose dismal sound we heard at a considerable distance in this pit, and nearly under us. However, we crossed in safety, clinging fast to the wall, and winding down under the *Haunted Chamber*, and through a very narrow passage, for thirty or forty yards, when our course was west, and the passage twenty or thirty feet in width, and from ten to eighteen high, for more than a mile. The air was pure and delightful in this as well as in other parts of the cave. At the further part of this avenue, we came upon a reservoir of water, very clear and delightful to the taste, apparently having neither inlet nor outlet. (X)

“Within a few yards of this reservoir of water on the right hand of the cave, there is an avenue, which leads to the north-west. We had entered it about forty feet, when we came to several columns of the most brilliant spar, sixty or seventy feet in height, and almost perpendicular; which stand in basins of water, that comes trickling down their sides, then passes off silently from the basins, and enters the cavities of stone,



without being seen again. These columns of *spar* and the basins they rest in, for splendour and beauty surpass every similar work of art I ever saw. We passed by these columns, and entered a small, but beautiful chamber, whose walls were about twenty feet apart, and the arch not more than seven high, white as whitewash could have made it; the floor was level as far as I explored it, which was not a great distance, as I found many pit-holes in my path, that appeared to have been lately sunk, which induced me to return.

“We returned by the beautiful pool of water, which is called the *Pool of Clitorius*, after the *Fons Clitorius* of the classics, which was so pure and delightful to the taste, that, after drinking of it, a person had no longer a taste for wine. On our way back to the narrow defile, I had some difficulty in keeping my lights, for the bats were so numerous, that, flying continually in our faces, it was next to impossible to get along with safety. I brought this trouble on myself, by my own want of forethought; for, as we were moving on, I noticed a large number of these bats hanging by their hind legs to the arch, which was not above twelve inches higher than my head. I took my cane, and gave a sweep the whole length of it, when down they fell; but soon, like so many imps, they tormented us till we reached the narrow defile, when they left us. We returned by *Wilkin's Arm-chair*, and back to the *Second Hoppers*. It

was at this place I found the *Mummy* which I before alluded to, where it had been placed by Mr. Wilkins, from another part of the cave, for preservation. It is a female, about six feet in height, and so perfectly dried as to weigh but twenty pounds when I found it. The hair on the back part of the head is rather short, and of a sandy hue; the top of the head is bald,—and the eyes sunk into the head; the nose, or that part which is cartilaginous, is dried down to the bones of the face; the lips are dried away, and discovered a fine set of teeth, white as ivory. The hands and feet are perfect, even to the nails, and very delicate like those of a young person; but the teeth are worn as much as a person's at the age of fifty.

“She must have been some personage of high distinction, if we may judge from the order in which she was buried. Mr. Wilkins informed me she was first found by some labourers, while digging for saltpetre-earth, in a part of the cave about three miles from the entrance, buried eight feet deep between four limestone-slabs, in the posture she is exhibited in the drawing (seated with the knees brought close to the body, which is erect; the hands clasped, and laid upon the stomach; the head upright. She was muffled up and covered with a number of garments made of a species of wild hemp and the bark of a willow which formerly grew in Kentucky. The cloth is of a curious texture and fabric, made up

in the form of blankets or winding sheets, with very handsome borders, Bags of different sizes were found by her side, made of the same cloth, in which were deposited her jewels, beads, trinkets, and implements of industry: all which are very great curiosities, being different from any thing of the Indian kind ever found in this country.

“Among the articles was a musical instrument, made of two pieces of cane, put together something like a double flageolet, and curiously interwoven with elegant feathers: she had likewise by her side, a bowl of uncommon workmanship, and a vandyke made of feathers very beautiful.

“My friend Mr. Wilkins gave me the *Mummy*, which I brought away, together with her apparel, jewels, music, &c.”

## APPENDIX.

(SEE CHAP. II. ON INDIAN TRIBES AND MANNERS.)

*From Adair's History of the American Indians.*

“IN the year 1747, a Natchee warrior told me, that while one of their prophets was using divine invocations for rain, (according to the faint image of their ancient tradition,) he was killed with thunder on the spot, upon which account the spirit of prophecy ever after subsided among them, and he became the last of their reputed prophets.”

“They (the Indians) abhor moles so exceedingly, that they will not allow their children even to touch them, for fear of hurting their eye-sight, reckoning it contagious. They believe that nature is possessed of such a property, as to transfuse into men and animals, the qualities either of the food they use, or of those objects that are presented to their senses: he who feeds on venison, is, according to their physical system, swifter, and more sagacious, than the man who lives on the flesh of the clumsy bear, or helpless barn-door fowls, the slow-footed tame cattle, or the heavy wallowing swine.”

To shew the depopulating effects of the small-pox, he thus proceeds : "About the year 1738, the Cherokees received the infection, which reduced them almost one-half in twelve months." The old magi and religious physicians reported, that the sickness had been sent among them on account of their sins. Those infected (the reputed sinners) "were ordered to lie out of doors, day and night, with their breast frequently open to the night dews, to cool the fever; they were likewise afraid that the diseased would pollute the house, and by that means procure all their deaths. They poured cold water on their naked breasts, sung their religious mystical songs with a doleful tune, and shook a calabash with pebble-stones over the sick; using a great many frantic gestures, by way of incantation. When they found their regimen had not the desired effect, but that the infection gained upon them, they held a second consultation, and deemed it the best method to sweat their patients, and plunge them into the river, which was accordingly done. Their rivers being very cold by reason of the numberless springs, which pour from the hills and mountains, and the pores of their bodies being open to receive the cold, it rushing in through the whole frame, they immediately expired." Many killed themselves in consequence of finding their former beauty gone without hopes of its return. "I remember," says Adair, "a great head warrior, when he saw himself disfigured by the small-pox, chose to die,

that he might end, as he imagined, his shame. When his relations knew his desperate design, they narrowly watched him, and took away from him every sharp instrument. After a tedious search, finding nothing but a thick and round hoe-helve, he took the fatal instrument, and having fixed one end of it on the ground, he repeatedly threw himself on it, till he forced it down his throat, when he immediately expired."

In speaking of their violent attachment to ardent spirits, Adair mentions the following instance of a Choctaw Indian who teased him excessively for spirits. He told him he had a bottle very hot, but cautioned him from using it, adding, that if his "heart was very poor for it," he should have it. The reply of the Indian was, "Your heart is honest indeed, I thank you, for it is good to my heart, and makes it greatly to rejoice." Without any farther ceremony, he seized the bottle, uncorked it, and swallowed a large quantity of burning liquid, till he was nearly strangled. When the violence of this burning draught was pretty well over, he began to flourish away in praise of the strength of the liquor, and the bounty of the giver. He then went to his companion, and held the bottle to his mouth, (according to custom,) till he took several hearty draughts. This Indian seemed rather more sensible of its fiery quality than the other, for it suffocated him for a considerable time; but as soon as he recovered his breath, he tumbled about on the floor in various postures

like a drunken person, overcome by the force of the liquor. In this manner they both renewed their draught till they had finished the whole bottle, into which two others had been decanted. The amused Chickasaw spectators laughed heartily at them, mimicking the actions, language, and gesture of drunken savages. The burning liquor so highly inflamed them, that one of the Choc-taws drank water till he almost burst; the other, rather than bear the ridicule of the people, and the inward fire that distracted him, drowned himself the second night after, in a broad and shallow clay-hole."

"There was an incident, something similar, which happened in the year 1736, in Kanatoore, the most northern town of the Cherokees. When all the liquor was expended, the Indians went home, leading with them those who were intoxicated. One, however, soon came back, and earnestly implored me for more nawhati, which signifies both physic and spirituous liquors. The more I excused myself, the more anxious he grew, so as to become offensive. I then told him, that I had only one quarter of a bottle of strong physic, which sick people might drink in small quantities; and laying it down before him, I declared I did not on any account choose to part with it; but, (as his speech had become very long and troublesome,) he might do just as his heart directed concerning it. He took it up, saying his heart was very poor for physic, but that would cure it, and make

it quite straight. The bottle contained almost three gills of strong spirits of turpentine, which in a short time he drank off. The troublesome visitor soon tumbled down, and foamed prodigiously. His relations took him home, and, with a decoction of proper herbs and roots, he soon got well. He ever after cautioned the rest from teasing me for any physic I had concealed for my own use; otherwise they might be sure it would spoil them, like the eating of fire."

Adair thus speaks of their cunning in war:—"They are amazingly artful in deceiving an enemy; they will fasten the paws and trotters of the panthers, bears, and buffaloes, to their feet and hands, and wind about like the circlings of such animals, in the land they usually frequent. They also will mimic the different notes of wild fowl, and the sound of every quadruped which exists in the American woods.

"In the year 1747, a couple of the Mohawk Indians came against the lower towns of the Cherokees, and so cunningly ambuscaded themselves through most part of the spring and summer, as to kill above twenty in different attacks, before they were discovered by any party of the enraged and dejected people. They had a thorough knowledge of the most convenient ground for their purpose, and were extremely swift. Whenever they killed any, and got the scalp, they made off to the neighbouring mountains, and ran over the broad ledges of rocks, in contrary courses, as oc-



cations offered, so that the pursuers could by no means trace them. Once, when a large company was in chase of them, they ran round a steep hill at the head of the main eastern branch of the Savannah river, intercepted, killed, and scalped the hindmost of the party, and then made off between them and Keowhee; this was the town to which the company belonged: they (the towns people) then hastened home in a close body, as the proper place of security from such enemy wizards. In this manner did those two sprightly gallant savages perplex and intimidate their foes, for the space of four moons, in the greatest security; though they were often forced to kill and barbarise what they chiefly lived upon, in the midst of their watchful enemies. Having sufficiently revenged their relations' blood, and gratified their own ambition with an unnumbered number of scalps, they resolved to captivate one, and ran home with him, as a proof of their having killed none but the enemies of their country. Accordingly they approached very near to Keowhee, about half a mile below the late Fort Prince George, advancing with the usual caution on such an occasion,—one crawled along under the best cover of the place, about the distance of an hundred yards a head, while the other shifted from tree to tree, looking sharply every way. In the evening an old man discovered them from the top of an adjoining hill, and knew them to be enemies."—The account concludes by stating the capture of

the warriors, who were put to the most excruciating tortures of fire.

The Indians easily find their way in trackless woods. Adair relates the following instance: "A hunting party of the Chickasaws went out to the extent of their winter limits, between the Choctaws and Muskohgee countries: being desirous of enlarging their hunt, they sent off a young warrior to discover certain lands they were unacquainted with, which they pointed out by the course of the sun, lying at the distance of about thirty miles. Near that place he came up with a camp of Choctaws, who seemed to treat him kindly, giving him venison and parched corn to eat; but while he was eating what some of the women had laid before him, one of the Choctaws crept behind him, and sunk his tomahawk into his head. His associates helped him to carry away the victim, and they hid it in a hollow tree at a considerable distance from their camp; after which they speedily removed. When the time for his return was elapsed, the Chickasaws the next day made a place of security for their women and children, under the protection of a few warriors, and the morning following painted themselves red and black, and went in quest of their kinsman. Though they were strangers to the place, any farther than by their indications to him before he set off; yet, such swift and skilful woodsmen were they, that by twelve o'clock that day, they came to the Choctaw camping place, where, after

a narrow search, they discovered the trace of blood on a fallen tree, and a few drops of fresh blood on the leaves of trees, in the course they had dragged the corpse; these directed them to the wooden urn, wherein the remains of their kinsmen were enclosed. They said, as they were men and warriors, it belonged to the female relations to weep for their dead, and to them to revenge it. They came up with the Choctaws before daylight, surrounded their camp, attacked them, killed one, and wounded several."

"When the Chickasaws were once engaged in war with the Muskhogee, one of their young warriors set off alone against them, to revenge the blood of a near relation: his burning heart would not allow him to delay its gratification, and proceed with a company. He went through the most unfrequented and thick part of the woods, till he arrived opposite to the town of Koosah, which stood on a river about two hundred and fifty yards broad, which empties into the Mobile. He concealed himself under cover of the top of a fallen pine-tree, in view of the ford of the trading path, where the enemy now and then passed the river in their light canoes. He waited with patience almost three days, when a young man, a woman, and a girl, passed a little wide of him, about an hour before sunset. The former he shot down, tomahawked the other two, and scalped each of them, in full view of the town. By way of bravado, he shook the scalps before them,

sounded the awful death-whoop, and set off along the trading path, trusting to his heels, while a great many of the enemy ran to their arms and gave chase. Seven miles from thence, he entered the Blue Ridge of the Apalachian mountains. About an hour before day, he had run over seventy miles of that mountainous tract; then, after sleeping two hours in a sitting posture, leaning his back against a tree, he set off again with fresh speed, and got home safe and well in less than forty-eight hours, a distance of about three hundred miles."

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COTTON.

(See Chapter X. on Cotton.)

The article of Cotton, which has been so particularly referred to in this work, is of such importance, that the commerce carried on in this production closely connects Great Britain with the United States. For this reason, it is impossible that any elucidation into which we may enter, can be too minute; more especially so, when we consider how extensive a portion of the population of the United States is either employed in the cultivation of this article, or benefited by the commerce to which it gives such a powerful impulse.

A Circular from one of the first commercial establishments in Liverpool, (perhaps I may say one of the most extensive American mercantile houses in the kingdom) enables me to particularize the great commerce carried on in cotton, not only

with Great Britain, but likewise between all the other European powers, and the United States. In this Circular, the opinion which I had formed from statements in my own possession, relative to the quantity of cotton produced in the republic, and the proportionate bulk exported from thence to Great Britain, is fully confirmed.

The cotton trade in Great Britain has been increasing since the year 1816, in a ratio of about ten per cent., as the following estimate will prove.

<i>Bags.</i>	
In 1816, the consumption of cotton in the British	
manufactories was calculated at .....	340,000
1817, .....	357,000
1818, .....	393,000
1819, .....	432,000
1820, .....	475,000
1821, .....	522,000
1822, .....	574,000

By this estimate it is calculated, that five hundred and seventy-four thousand bags or bales of cotton will this year be consumed in the British manufactories. Of this quantity, it is supposed that three hundred and fifty thousand bags will be received from the United States, each weighing about three hundred pounds; whilst the weight of the whole import will not exceed one hundred and fifty millions of pounds weight; consequently, Great Britain obtains nearly two-thirds of her whole supply from the United States, and the latter country exports to this about two-thirds of her whole crop, as will be seen by the following statement:—

# STATEMENT, No. 1.

*Exports of COTTON-WOOL from the United States, for the last Three Years, taken from the American Statements.*

From whence exported.	Description.	DISTRIBUTION.												
		The Crop of 1819, from 1st Oct. 1819, to 30th Sep. 1820.				The Crop of 1820, from 1st Oct. 1820, to 30th Sep. 1821.				The Crop of 1821, from 1st Oct. 1821, to 20th July and 1st Aug. 1822.				
		Great Britain	France and Europe	Northern ports of America	Total 1819, 1820	Great Britain	France and Europe	Northern ports of America	Total 1820, 1821	Great Britain	France and Europe	Northern ports of America	Stock on hand 20th July, and 1st Aug. 1822	Total 1821, 1822
Savannah.....	Sea Island .....	11121	715	....	11836	9442	1051	395	10888	8655	1214	644	500	11023
Ditto.....	Upland .....	82898	21901	27514	132313	80923	22311	53865	157099	77525	11452	50713	15000	154690
Charleston.....	Sea Island .....	20286	1204	....	21490	23912	710	....	24622	23627	874	....	500	25001
Ditto.....	Upland .....	76757	43011	6016	125784	61883	29516	7774	98673	63784	18743	11953	20000	114430
N. Carolina & Darien .....	Ditto .....	10671	....	11500	22171	3668	....	17332	21000	4000	....	30000	....	34000
New Orleans.....	Orleans&Alabama .....	66000	34000	20000	120000	49553	51428	35789	126776	51791	42050	46643	25000	165484
Mobile & Blakeley....	Alabama .....	2060	....	18000	20060	1000	....	22000	23060	2060	....	28000	....	30000
Total Crops of all descriptions.....	.....	269,727	100,381	83,030	453,588	229,881	105,016	137,155	472,052	231,342	74,333	167,953	61,000	534,628
Re-exported from the northern Ports....	.....	38,391	....	38,391	....	67,704	....	67,704	....	49,090	....	49,090	....	....
Total Export of all descriptions.....	.....	308,118	100,381	44,639	453,588	297,585	105,016	69,451	472,052	280,342	74,333	118,953	61,000	534,628
N. B. The Exports of the Crop of 1821 are to 1st Aug. from Charleston and Savannah, and to the 20th July from New Orleans.		Probable Export from 1st Aug. to 30th Nov. 1822				Total Import of the Crop of 1821.....								

Supposing that every pound of cotton will be manufactured into ten square yards of cloth, and calculating each yard to be worth ten-pence, then the amount of our cotton manufactures will reach to the astonishing sum of sixty-two and a half millions of pounds annually, which will be more by about fifteen millions than all the rest of Europe. If we reckon the cost of the raw or unmanufactured article at eight-pence per pound, it will amount to five millions, leaving the amazing sum of fifty-seven and a half millions for labour, &c. and profit to the manufacturer.

Besides the great import of cotton from the United States, the West India Islands, and the Brazils, more than seven hundred and fifty thousand bales have been imported from the East Indies, of which about one hundred and twenty thousand bales only remain in Great Britain, the residue being either consumed or re-exported. At the present low prices, it is not to be expected that any considerable quantity of cotton will be imported from the East Indies. I cannot state with any degree of precision, what will be the expense of producing cotton in the place last mentioned, although from the low price of labour, it must be very trifling. In that part of this work which treats of the commerce and manufactures of the United States, I have mentioned that the cost of raising cotton in that country, will not be more than eight or nine cents the pound, equal to four-pence halfpenny or five-pence

English. But in the Circular which has been published, and to which I have before alluded, two statements are given; by which it would appear that the cost of producing Cotton is considerably more: these accounts are as follows:

## STATEMENT, No. 2.

*First Estimate of Cost of Cotton Plantation.*

	<i>Dol. Cts.</i>
Food, 13 bushels of corn, or 1 peck per week, at 70 cents per bushel, ...	9 10
1 hat 1d 50c, 2 pair of shoes 2d 50c, 1 blanket 3d .....	7 0
6 yards plains, at 75 cents, 4d 50c; doctor and physio 1d .....	5 50
One suit of Osnaburg .....	1 50
Tools, vehicles, and horses .....	1 00
Tax .....	1 50
	<hr/> 25 60

100 negroes are equal to 60 good working-hands;	<i>Dollars</i>
100 average negroes, worth now perhaps 450d each .....	35,000
100 average negroes, or 60 working-hands, will cultivate each three and a half acres, or 210 acres, worth per acre 50d .....	10,500
Planter's capital .....	<hr/> 45,500

If one working-hand cultivates $3\frac{1}{2}$ acres, which give 900lbs of clean cotton, 60 working-hands, or 100 average hands, will cultivate 210 acres, which yield 54,000lbs clean Cotton, which at 11 cents per lb. is gross .....	5940
Deduct the expense of keeping 100 hands at 24d, in lieu of 25d 60c, the estimate .....	2400
Factorage $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent on 5940d .....	148
Carriage, rent, drayage, and labour, on 185 bags, or 54,000lbs weight, at 2d 50c .....	462
Bagging, at 90 cents per bale .....	166
	<hr/> 3176
Leaves nett profit of 100 negroes, or 60 working-hands, at 11 cents,	<hr/> 2764

Then it appears that a capital of 45,500d, in land and negroes, yields, if the Cotton sell at 11 cents per lb. 2764d, or 6 per cent.

## STATEMENT, No. 3.

*Second Estimate of Cost of Cotton Plantation.*

Cost of keeping one negro a year on a Cotton-plantation:	<i>Col. Cts.</i>
Food 13 bushels of corn, or 1 peck per week, at 70 cents per bushel	9 10
Touching this item, this planter says, that he appoints a certain portion of his negroes to cultivate bread stuff for those employed in his plantations, and that whether he cultivate it or buy it, it will cost as above.	



	<i>Dol. Cts.</i>
1 pair of shoes 1d 25c, 1 blanket in 3 years, at 3d is 1d .....	2 25
6 yards of plains, at 75 cents, 4d 50c; doctor and physio 1d .....	5 50
1 suit of Osnaburges for summer .....	1 50
Tools, vehicles, and horses .....	1 50
Tax .....	1 0
	<hr/> 20 65

This planter says, that on an average 20d will defray the expense per head, and these items come very near it. The negro out of his own extra earnings buys a hat and any more shoes he may require.

But out of 100 average hands, 50 only are workers, the other 50 being rendered non-effective by infancy, infirmity, or from being used for domestic purposes.

	<i>Dollars.</i>
100 average negroes, worth 400d each .....	40,000
100 average negroes, or 50 working-hands, will cultivate each $3\frac{1}{2}$ acres, or 175 acres, worth per acre 80d .....	14,000
Amount of capital in negroes and land .....	<hr/> 54,000

The land is only worth 20 dollars per acre; but a planter must have at least four times the quantity that is actually employed for Cotton, seeing that it soon gets exhausted. It is too expensive to restore it by manure, and it lies in fallow until the remainder of the estate has undergone culture and exhaustion; so that 80d is really the cost of an acre of the land actually in use.

Average gangs of negroes would, not long ago, have commanded 425d each, so that the above is a low estimate.

	<i>Dol. Cts.</i>
If one working-hand cultivates $3\frac{1}{2}$ acres, which will yield 900lb of clean Cotton, 50 working-hands will cultivate 175 acres, which will yield 45,000lbs. of clean Cotton, and which at 10 cents per lb. is .....	4500 0
Deduct expense of keeping 100 hands at 20d .....	2000 0
Factorage on 45000d, at $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent .....	112 50
Carriage, rent, drayage and labour, on 160 bags or 45000lb weight, at 2d 50c each .....	375 0
Bagging, at 90 cents per bale .....	135 0
	<hr/> 2622 50
Nett profit of 100 average or 50 working-hands, at 10 cents .....	<hr/> 1877 50

So that on a capital of negroes and land amounting to 54,000d, there is a profit of  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent, at 10 cents per lb.

These statements calculate that one working hand can cultivate three and a half acres. I have mentioned in this work, that one good working hand can cultivate five acres; I did not however suppose that one slave could raise more than nine hundred pounds of cotton. The second

of these statements mentions, that twenty dollars would support a negro for twelve months; excepting the expense of raising Indian corn. I believe the latter statement may be considered as correct; but it certainly cannot cost so much as seventy cents per bushel to raise Indian corn on a cotton plantation. Two working negroes, with the assistance of one or two women or children, can easily attend to thirty acres of Indian corn; supposing it to produce fifty bushels per acre, these thirty acres will yield one thousand five hundred bushels, which, at fifty cents per bushel, will amount to seven hundred and fifty dollars. The land cannot be considered of much value upon a cotton plantation, for there will always be a number of acres not suitable to plant cotton, therefore the following statement of the expense of raising Indian corn on a cotton plantation will be tolerably correct.

	<i>Dollars.</i>
30 Acres of Indian Corn, producing 150 bushels, at 50 cents per bushel . . . . .	750 00
Two working-hands, the cost of maintenance calculated at twenty dollars each . . . . .	40
Women and children employed . . . . .	15
Implements, Mules, &c. . . . .	30
For interest of the value of land worth 500 dollars, interest upon the value of slaves, and the decrement of their lives . . . . .	235—320
	<hr/> 430

Thus it appears that it would not cost a planter even fifty cents per bushel, to raise his own Indian corn. The value of land for raising cotton ought not to be rated so high as eighty dollars; although

in some parts of the Carolinas and Georgia, it is requisite to have four times the quantity of land more than is actually under cultivation with cotton, it being of so exhausting a nature, that after it has produced a crop, the ground must remain fallow for two or three years; yet this is not always the case; and in Alabama, and some parts of Louisiana, there is land so rich, that it may be cultivated for years without requiring manure, or to be laid fallow. Under these circumstances, I am of opinion, that cotton can be raised for eight or nine cents the pound, and that the planters will be paid good interest for their capital. Certainly, however, in this case, they must attend *themselves* to their plantations, and perhaps they may be obliged to become their own overseers, and after all, they may not be able to live in the same state of luxurious idleness as in former years.

In North Carolina, on the Pedee river, a number of laborious persons have commenced the raising of cotton, and it is calculated that twenty thousand bales are now annually produced by their exertions. These farmers, (for I will not term them planters) possess from fifty to one hundred acres of land each. Upon a farm of one hundred acres, when about thirty are planted with cotton; two working negroes, two mules, and two boys, are found sufficient to cultivate it, with the help of the farmer, and to produce between five and six thousand pounds weight of cotton; besides corn,

&c., for sustenance of the farmer, his family, and negroes. The cultivation of cotton on the Pedee river is increasing at the rate of about twenty per cent. per annum. It has lately been discovered, that if the plant producing cotton, becomes fully ripe, it may remain on the ground during winter, for its production will not then be injured by frost; and consequently they can pick it at leisure. I have great pleasure in stating, that on some of these farms where cotton is cultivated, there are not any slaves, but there are not many thousand pounds weight thus produced, for all the cotton (generally speaking) from America, both North and South, is obtained from slaves; and in some cases it has been procured by the blood of the poor Africans, or their sable descendants. We cannot use the words, although we may apply the meaning, of the following couplet.

“Go, luscious, sweet, seducing food,  
Purchased by drops of human blood.”

A planter on the river Roanoke, in Virginia, made the following statement to one of my friends. He said, that he possessed about seven hundred acres of land, which he formerly employed in raising wheat and tobacco; that, in consequence of the present low prices of these two articles, he had disposed of nineteen working slaves, besides women and children, having no more left than five working negroes and fifteen women and children. He had permitted a considerable part of his land to remain uncultivated; and latterly,

all the produce he had to dispose of, was only six thousand weight of tobacco, which he was obliged to take to Petersburg, in Virginia, a distance of seventy-five miles by land, when he could only obtain five cents per pound, amounting to no more than three hundred dollars. This farmer intended to commence the cultivation of cotton; and, judging from what some of his neighbours had produced, he expected to procure fifty bales, or fifteen thousand pounds weight; which, at eight cents per pound, would amount to twelve hundred dollars, making a difference of nine hundred dollars in favour of producing cotton, instead of that poisonous, filthy weed, tobacco. This farmer likewise expected, that he should be able to raise a sufficient quantity of corn, &c. for the support of his family, negroes, and cattle. I have little doubt that cotton will be in general cultivation in the course of a few years, in the states of North Carolina, Virginia, and Maryland.

It has lately been noticed in one of the American newspapers, that a gentleman on Long Island, State of New York, has made a successful attempt in producing cotton on that island. The following is a statement of the population of six of the states, where cotton is principally produced.

South Carolina	502,741	of which 258,475 are slaves.
Georgia	340,989	148,482
Alabama	127,901	41,000
Mississippi	75,448	32,814
Louisiana	153,407	68,500
Tennessee	422,613	80,000
	<hr/> 1,623,099	<hr/> 629,271

It is calculated that four hundred and thirty-one thousand, nine hundred and seventy-one of these slaves are either employed on, or belong to, cotton plantations. We may, however, add about fifty thousand more slaves, employed in the same manner, in North Carolina, and other states where cotton is produced, and not enumerated in the statement. By this it would appear, that four hundred and eighty-one thousand nine hundred and seventy-one slaves, or thereabouts, are employed on this article; and, taking the aggregate so employed, it is scarcely one-eighth of a bale of cotton produced by one slave. This, however, is no criterion to prove what quantity of cotton it is probable will be produced in the United States, to serve for their own consumption, and that of Europe.

By the statement which I have made, relative to the Virginian farmer who expected to produce fifteen thousand pounds of cotton with the same hands which the culture of six thousand pounds of tobacco required, it would appear that cotton can be raised at less expense than this noxious weed. This farmer did not form his expectations from vague surmise; they were founded on what his neighbours had obtained: but admitting that a pound of cotton can be produced with the same labour as a pound of tobacco, is it not a natural consequence, to expect, that many will discontinue the cultivation of tobacco, for the more pleasant and profitable article of cotton, which always commands the

higher price? If cotton can be raised in Virginia, and even in Long Island, state of New York, we may expect ere long to see it produced in nearly all the Western States. Let it once be attended to by the small farmers, and it is impossible to say to what great extent it may be carried, or what quantity will be produced;—enough certainly, to serve for any increased demand.

It is said, that the cultivation of sugar is now so profitable, it may be expected that the sugar planters will purchase a considerable number of negroes, who have been hitherto employed in raising cotton. It is thought that about twenty-five thousand of the slave population of Louisiana are employed by the sugar planters. I have seen many calculations relative to the cost of producing sugar; and I have no doubt, that upon a well-conducted plantation near New Orleans, the cost is about four cents per pound, equal to two-pence farthing English, supposing molasses to be worth twenty cents, or near eleven-pence English, the gallon. The price of sugar at the time of boiling, is generally from six to eight dollars for one hundred pounds. Molasses vary considerably in the price, sometimes selling at twenty-five cents, or one-quarter of a dollar, and at others no more than twelve and a half cents, or one-eighth of a dollar, per gallon. At these prices there is no doubt that a sugar planter in Louisiana obtains very great interest for the capital which he employs.

But notwithstanding these advantages, there are some planters there who do not succeed, and plantations are continually on sale. In 1821 a plantation was offered for sale on reasonable and even advantageous terms to the purchaser, but no one offered for it; and when I left that place the stock was advertised, (in which definition all the slaves are included) as it was intended to discontinue the cultivation. The motive for these remarks is, to inquire whether it is probable, that, in consequence of the profits obtained by cultivating sugar, so considerable a part of the slave population, now employed in producing cotton, will be diverted from that culture, as will cause less cotton to be raised. I conceive this will not be the case; for admitting that five thousand additional slaves may be wanted every year for the sugar plantations of Louisiana, yet, when we consider that this number is to be drawn from a slave population of eight hundred thousand, only one-half of whom are engaged in the growth of cotton, we cannot expect that more than one-half, or two thousand five hundred slaves, will be sold by the cotton planters. This number, if diverted from cotton, will be more than counter-balanced by natural increase, and by those who will plant cotton in preference to tobacco.

Should many be desirous to cultivate sugar, land suitable for that production would advance to such a price, and the article of sugar would fall so low, as might cause no greater profit to



accrue to the planter, than in continuing to raise cotton. I am of opinion there is no reason to entertain any fear of the United States not supplying the British manufactories with cotton. The Circular from the commercial house at Liverpool, which has been the cause of my writing this article, would of itself be a sufficient reason for my so doing; but the vast importance of a production on which the great fabric of British manufactures is founded, and the connection which the commerce in this article causes between the United States and Great Britain, fully deserve the most minute illustration.

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Males.

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six.  
Males of twenty-six and under forty-  
five.

to 26 to 45

Maine		
New Hampshire		
Massachusetts		
Rhode Island	1	
Connecticut		1
Vermont		
New York	1,624	94
New Jersey	1,583	91
Pennsylvania	1	1
Delaware	839	33
Maryland	4,846	10,71
Virginia	2,791	45,43
North Carolina	27,511	19,39
South Carolina	2,324	31,64
Georgia	9,541	16,24
Alabama	6,563	4,20
Mississippi	4,600	4,06
Louisiana	0,876	10,52
Tennessee	0,078	6,52
Kentucky	7,132	10,94
Ohio		
Indiana	37	
Illinois	179	14
Missouri	1,511	84
Territories		
Territories	276	14
District	775	62

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